

# *American* SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

READ BAIN  
*Miami University*

ALTHOUGH this issue already has been and probably will be hereafter referred to as "the special issue on social disorganization," it is obvious that this is a misnomer. There may be some justification for such reference in the fact that the general theme of the 1939 annual meetings of the Society was social disorganization and that the majority of the papers in this issue were first read at those meetings. Most of them have been revised since their first reading and some have been prepared for this issue (Locke and Young). Others have been "saved" from earlier publication because the idea for a special issue was taking form at about the time they were ready for press (Monahan, Punke, Neely).

We have had three general purposes in mind in the preparation of this issue: (1) the publication of theoretical and research articles; (2) the presentation of materials which may stimulate further research; and (3) the issuing of materials which will have practical value for teachers of standard criminology and family courses in sociology as well as courses in the allied fields of social psychology, social work, and child welfare. The fact that the Census of Research is included in this issue adds considerably to its value for teaching purposes, since the work in progress deals rather extensively with social problems in the field of crime and the family. This Census should be of particular value to serious undergraduate students and especially to graduate students. The special selected bibliographies, prepared by experts, dealing with crime and the family add to the value of the issue both from the point of view of teaching and study. It is also believed that people working in the practical arts of penology, juvenile delinquency, child guidance, and family counseling will find the materials useful and stimulating. We hope that the sale of this special issue to college classes, individuals, and social agencies, may justify the considerable added expense which the *Review* has incurred in publishing it.

It may be had for 80 cents per copy in orders of 5 up to 10; for 70 cents, in orders of 11 to 25; 26 and up, at 60 cents per copy. Orders should be sent at once to H. A. Phelps, Managing Editor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. "At once" is suggested because the number of copies available is limited, and those who are expecting to use this issue as part of their teaching materials in family and criminology classes should get their orders in by September 1, if possible; or sooner.

Some may wonder why we have selected only those papers pertaining to crime and the family out of all the papers on social disorganization which were presented at the last annual meeting. The answer is that space is limited and we desired to deal with topics which would have value as teaching materials and in stimulating research. This meant that the classes in which this issue could be used should be rather advanced and at the same time should have rather large enrollments. Criminology and family courses seemed to be the only ones that met these requirements. We also believe that more specialized seminars may be able to use these materials profitably because of their illustration of various research techniques and because many of them (e.g., Wirth, Cuber, Locke, and Davis) raise interesting and important theoretical questions. It is possible the issue may be found useful in other types of courses. We hope this will prove to be the case.

It is probably unfortunate for the science of sociology that the term "social disorganization" is in such general use. Cuber has attempted to give the term more precise meaning by limiting the concept "institution" in such a way that, if his position be accepted, we would have to find another term for what he calls the nominalistic concept of institution. He has also shown the necessity for arriving at some consensus as to how much and what kind of stresses and strains must exist before we can speak of disorganization in other than a normative sense. He does not solve this problem to my satisfaction but at least he has presented it. I think the same general criticism can be made of Wirth's paper—the question is raised, but the answer is too relativistic to constitute a scientific answer. I have dealt with this same problem in a somewhat different way in my Comments on the Appraisal of Research in History (S.S.R.C. Bulletin 46, pp. 21–23 esp.). My conclusions there are also negative and amount to little more than a somewhat more precise formulation of the problem. Of one thing I am certain, viz., the theoretical position taken must be far less relativistic than is currently fashionable among students who depend upon present cultural anthropology and the new *Wissenssociologie* fad for their "data" of verification, before our concept of social disorganization can become "scientific" in the natural science sense of the adjective. I believe we must go back to the idea of social pathology without falling into the fallacies of the organismic analogy. I mean to say that social disorganization must be conceived in

terms of some kind of objective standard, or construct, that is more constant and universal than is now generally believed possible. A certain amount of relativity is obviously a factor in the relations existing between all natural phenomena, but much of the current cultural relativity smacks too strongly of conceptual confusion and theoretical anarchy to merit the name of science, which looks for timeless, spaceless, universal relationships of repetitive uniformity.

Perhaps a solution can be found in the concept of a *social system in equilibrium*, taking these terms in somewhat the same sense that L. J. Henderson has given them, getting his cue from Pareto and organic chemistry. Such a concept may be definable in fairly exact (possibly only statistical) quantitative terms, and thus achieve the universality and relative stability (with reference to the larger, "taken" system) which characterizes concepts and principles in the other natural sciences. It should be pointed out that the "relativity" of physics, or biology, is quite a different theoretical concept from the cultural "relativity" which is implicit in a great deal of the *Wissenssociologie*, cultural anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology now current. This cultural "relativity" is intellectual confusion or else social and societal phenomena are so different in kind from other natural phenomena that a natural science of sociology is a forlorn hope. This I am not yet ready to admit. It may be true, of course, that generalizations of social and societal data are possible only on the level of insightful hunches, artistic impressions, or normative consensuses, but I do not believe it.

Sociology is the most thrilling of all scientific disciplines precisely because it is so little scientific. Here is a newly discovered continent to conquer; an enduring challenge to the "best" minds to go adventuring in as yet unexplored and unpossessed wildernesses. I hope this special issue of the *Review* may start many young pioneers along this precarious path. Perhaps some old pioneers may see new objects of interest, some new signs that will lead them to good hunting.

## IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

LOUIS WIRTH

*University of Chicago*

THE *Ideological Element in Social Problems*. The notion that ideologies play an important part in contemporary social life seems to have penetrated into the sphere of popular discourse. Today even the newspapers occasionally refer to ideologies when they wish to allude to a complex of ideas, a body of doctrines, the programs of movements, the platforms of parties—in fact, to any creed or theory that takes on an intellectualized and rationalized form. It would be difficult to imagine a single social problem in the analysis and proposed solution of which we do not have to take account of ideological factors. They are an elusive but significant part of our contemporary social landscape. They serve as landmarks which help us to find our way in what otherwise would be a chaotic social world, by providing us with guidance in defining and evaluating situations. Ideologies enable us to identify ourselves with social movements and groups which offer interpretations and solutions of problems which could only rarely be undertaken by each individual independently. They aid us in reducing excessive individuation and indifference in respect to social problems by furnishing us with goals by which more or less articulate groups become integrated.

While they help us to get our bearings and to sustain our capacity for collective action, it must be recognized, however, that much of our confusion and indecision is in part attributable to the wide variety of ideologies to which we are exposed and to the intermixture of conflicting ideological elements that direct the attention and court the loyalties of the several members of the society. A further confusion is introduced by the fact that the beliefs and creeds which men profess do not always correspond to the principles—if any—which find expression in their actual conduct. Consequently, in the world of action as well as in social science, ideologies are often referred to as *mere* ideologies, as if they were irrelevant epiphenomena having no substantial roots in and relations to the realities of existence. It is the object of this paper to elaborate the proposition that our contemporary social problems cannot be adequately treated and that the situations to which they refer cannot be understood without taking due account of the role of their ideological involvements.

There is a widespread belief that the problems of maladjustment of men to one another and to the world in which they live arise out of the nature of men or of things. Despite the work of a long line of social scientists who have indicated that the situations we call social problems are problematical only because they represent deviations from socially accepted norms and



expectations, there is substantial evidence to indicate that even some contemporary sociologists continue to deal with social problems as if they did not involve evaluational elements.

*Value Systems and Social Disorganization.* To refer to a society as disorganized implies some criteria of disorganization and conversely some marks by which an organized society may be identified. There is no society without an ethos, i.e., without shared values, objectives, preferences, and the well-founded anticipation of the members that all the others recognize the rules of the society and will abide by them. The concept of social disorganization thus has a normative basis. A shrewd observer, De Tocqueville, wrote a century ago:

A society can exist only when a great number of men consider a great number of things in the same point of view; when they hold the same opinions upon many subjects, and when the same occurrences suggest the same thoughts and impressions to their minds.<sup>1</sup>

Some one or another version of this theme has been an essential part of every acceptable definition of society long before De Tocqueville so formulated it and ever since.<sup>2</sup> If a society is a set of common understandings, a system of reciprocally acknowledged claims and expectations expressed in action, it follows that a human aggregation cannot be regarded as a society until it achieves this capacity for collective action, although it may manifest a high degree of symbiotic or functional interdependence between the individuals composing it. Such an aggregate may constitute a community without being a society. It follows further that the degree to which the members of a society lose their common understandings, i.e., the extent to which consensus is undermined, is the measure of that society's state of disorganization. The degree to which there is agreement as to the values and norms of a society expressed in its explicit rules and in the preferences its members manifest with reference to these rules, furnishes us with criteria of the degree to which a society may be said to be disorganized.

But not all deviations from norms are to be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of social disorganization. It is possible to have a wide range of individual differentiation and deviation from norms in a society without approaching a state of social disorganization. Not all conduct we call crime is to be interpreted as social disorganization; nor is the incidence of divorce to be taken at face value as a measure of family disorganization.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I: 398, tr. Henry Reeve, New York, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, I: 32-33, II: 1128-1129, New York, 1927 (Knopf edition).

<sup>3</sup> "In other words, social organization is not coextensive with individual morality, nor does social disorganization correspond to individual demoralization," Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, II: 1129. There may be cases of behavior involving deviation from the norms of the society without substantial disbelief in the validity of the violated norms. As Healy says:

*Types of Social Disorganization.* A major type of social disorganization is that characterized by conflicts between norms. Such conflicts are rare in stable, compact, and homogeneous societies, as an abundance of literature from primitive and folk societies indicates,<sup>4</sup> but in societies in rapid or sudden change either through migration, change in technology, or basis of subsistence, subjected to contact with alien groups, or brought within the influence of modern civilization, there may appear wide chasms between the old and the new, the indigenous and the imported, the traditional and the deliberately imposed systems of values and codes of conduct. Colonization, conquest, immigration, the invasion of industry, and the impact of whatever content the modern mass-communication devices carry to the ends of the earth, may bring about cleavages in the systems of values of a formerly integrated society. In such cases, disorganization may be the product of the tensions arising out of the attempt to conform to mutually contradictory norms coexisting within a single system and calling for incompatible responses to a given situation. In any ongoing social order, we must recognize the operation of what Sumner called "the strain of improvement and consistency." The demands for the resolution of conflicts may be expected to be more frequent and insistent in a society whose value system and institutional framework are subjected to the stresses induced by changes due to internal trends or to contacts with alien cultures.

Disorganization may also result, however, from the coexistence within a society of two or more independent systems of norms, each of which claims the allegiance of a segment of society which in other respects is interdependent with the rest. If in such instances we speak of social disorganization, we should be clear that that condition is not necessarily the consequence of new norms suddenly injected into the society, but is likely rather to be the product of a mode of life which does not permit a universal consensus or single set of norms to develop.

It should further be noted that ecological interdependence does not automatically generate consensus. Especially in our modern great cities, where primary group relations are minimal and secondary relations are segmental and usually amoral, we tend to treat aggregations of men who are merely spatially contiguous and functionally interdependent as if they were true societies. Under such circumstances, what we are disposed to call social disorganization is rather a situation in which organization in the sense of a common set of norms was never able to develop to any appreciable degree. What we have is an unorganized rather than a disorganized society.

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"We constantly find the delinquent fully able to express his conscious belief that delinquency represents wrong conduct, but evidently his feeling about its wrongfulness has not been sufficiently strong to function as a preventive," William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, 11, New Haven, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance, Thorsten Sellin, *Culture Conflict and Crime*, 58 ff., Bulletin 41 (1938) of the Social Science Research Council.

The impression of the absence of a common value system that one gains by viewing the urban community as a whole can be interpreted as a relative state of disorganization only when one contrasts the city with the more or less integrated communities from which its inhabitants typically are recruited, and with the relatively organized character of social life that obtains in the smaller constituent segments of the urban community itself. The interpenetration of diverse ethnic and cultural groups in the urban world has resulted in the enormous multiplication of value systems each one of which is binding only upon a segment of the population and upon individuals in specific segments of their round of life. The mere multiplication of norms, together with the tendency toward segmentalization of life, increase the chances that the norms impinging upon the individuals will provoke conflicts and tensions.

Disorganization may result not alone from overt conflict between these systems of norms and from the segmental nature of these norms, but also from the ambiguities of definition, which increase as wider and more heterogeneous aggregates of men are expected to share the goals and standards of the same society. Obviously, as Sellin points out, "All culture conflicts are conflicts of *meanings*: social values, interests, norms. There can be no clashes between the material objects of culture."<sup>5</sup> It is therefore in the divergence and ambiguity of meanings that we must seek the source of much of our social disorganization.

• *Ideologies and Social Solidarity.* From time immemorial, one of the central problems of society has been how consensus may be achieved. In relatively simple and static societies, this problem is not a serious one, since consensus rests upon tradition and authority and is reinforced by sacred sanctions and, if need be, by force the legitimacy of which is unquestioned. In societies where such customs have not as yet emerged, where the activities are so ramified and involve such narrow segments of the individual's career that generally binding customary rules have no opportunity to develop, or where such rules have fallen into decay, other less spontaneous measures have to be resorted to. Of these, laws and ordinances are the classic illustration, but we know of no society in which laws, with the accompanying sanctions of punishment, achieve so perfect a consensus as folk societies can achieve through custom and a common form of life. In addition to laws and customs, we have a body of conventions, of rules of the game, which, although they may occasionally be disregarded, are generally respected even though their violation does not entail serious sanctions. Increasingly, however, as societies lose their kinship base, we come to rely upon more formal and rational bases for achieving a unity which formerly could be relied upon to emanate from less deliberate means. Formal education and propaganda are the typical devices that are invoked.

<sup>5</sup> Sellin, *op. cit.*, 58.

As the belief in the intrinsic validity of our norms is undermined, supporting ideologies come into play with reference to the institutions and values that are threatened. These ideologies provide legitimation for actions and institutions to which the customary norms do not extend and act, so to speak, as a surrogate for custom and tradition. The ideologies which we develop, however, are not arbitrarily superimposed upon our practices and institutions. To cite Professor Park:

There is, as Sumner says, implicit in every institution a concept and a philosophy. In the efforts of men acting together to pursue a consistent course of action in a changing world this concept emerges and the philosophy which was implicit becomes explicit. It may take the form of a rationalization or a justification for the institution's existence—what might be described as the institution's *apologia pro vita sua*. Although there may be implicit in the practices of every institution an idea and a philosophy, it is only in a changing society where it becomes necessary to defend or redefine its functions that this philosophy is likely to achieve a formal and dogmatic statement; and even then the body of sentiment and ideas which support these principles may remain, like an iceberg, more or less completely submerged in the "collective unconscious," whatever that is. It is furthermore only in a political society, in which a public exists that permits discussion, rather than in a society organized on a familial and authoritative basis that rational principles tend to supersede tradition and custom as a basis of organization and control. Besides, mankind has never been as completely rational in either its behavior or its thinking as was once supposed. As Sumner remarks, "property, marriage, and religion are still almost entirely in the mores." It is, however, in the nature of political society that every class, caste, institution, or other functional unit should have its own dogma and its individual life-program. In a familial society, dogma and ideology may perhaps be said to exist potentially and in the egg. They are not so likely to be stated formally as a rule or principle of action.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas the lawyer and the theologian, since ideologies are their main stock in trade, have dealt with them as solid realities, some sociologists have been inclined to consider them as irrelevant or as only of secondary importance. They have dismissed them as rationalizations of the reasons, and have looked instead for the "real" motives of action which were supposed to be hidden behind the professed motives or pretexts. As a result, they have perhaps failed to see that the ideologies may sometimes actually state the basic determining factors correctly, or at least that through the rationalizations the causes of conduct might be discovered. As Kant succinctly put it, "One should not believe everything people say, nor should one believe that they say it without reason."

One of the major contributions to the study of social disorganization to be made by an analysis of the ideologies of the society in question is to aid us not only in discovering the conflict of norms, but also conversely in discovering the factors contributing to the social solidarity of the group. The belief in the intrinsic validity of norms may, according to Max Weber's

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Park, "Symbiosis and Socialization: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Society," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1939, 45: 8-9.



classification, rest upon a charismatic, traditional, or rational basis.<sup>7</sup> The undermining of these bases of our beliefs would presumably lead to disorganization. Another basis of social solidarity to which secondary societies have increasingly resorted to encourage conformity is the fear of sanctions, which in a highly complex secular society tends to be increasingly ineffective. There may be said to be a third source of conformity with norms, namely, expediency, i.e., the tendency of each individual to act in accordance with what he conceives to be his own self interest—a procedure characteristic of individualistic, competitive societies. Even sheer opportunism tends to be converted into a principle of action. We have become so accustomed to the acceptance of rationality as a norm of conduct that we find ourselves under pressure, if we want our program accepted, to convince others we are acting rationally and to fortify our action by invoking a principle. As a student of contemporary political ideologies puts it:

We live in an age of self-conscious communities. Even the crudest of the regimes of contemporary Europe, the regime which, admittedly, owes least to a systematically thought-out doctrine, the Fascist regime in Italy, appears to value self-righteousness enough to join with the others in claiming a doctrine of its own. Opportunism has suffered the emasculation of being converted into a principle; we have lost not only the candour of Machiavelli but also even the candour of the *Anti Machiavel*. But it is a loss not to be regretted without qualification. It is evidence, at least, that nobody now expects a hearing who does not exhibit some anxiety to act on principle, who is not prepared to explain his conduct in some terms other than those of mere personal inclination.<sup>8</sup>

*Ideologies and Collective Action.* The most important thing to know about a society, whether it be a family, a city, a nation, a class, a church, or a political party, is to know what it takes for granted and what values it holds sacred and inviolable. In the measure in which these values are regarded as ultimate imperatives, they are neither discussed nor debated. Often they are not even explicitly stated. You will seldom find them unequivocally formulated in constitutions or in party platforms, or in theological creeds. They are revealed in collective action rather than in verbal utterances. They are to be inferred from what people do. They are often crystallized into and hidden behind symbols, slogans, and stereotypes which, if they are seen in the light of concrete behavior, can aid us in ascertaining the motives that prompt men's action and the values which constitute the ends of such action. The real facts to which these symbols and verbal utterances vaguely and ambiguously refer, and the norms which they presuppose, are often much less clearcut and capable of pigeon-holing than the slogans and creeds themselves would indicate. Are Christianity and capitalism mutually exclusive, or compatible? Are socialism and equalitarianism

<sup>7</sup> Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 2d ed., Tübingen, 1925.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Oakeshott, *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, xi, Cambridge, 1939.

mutually contradictory? The proponents of freedom and security, who may naively assume that their respective programs are in harmony with one another, find that in the implementation of their policies they almost certainly are at war with each other. The same applies to those who at one and the same time profess to be advocates of progress and order. We want them both, and if we try to achieve either, will we not in some measure lose the other? Is Nazism, which was nursed into being by the enemies of socialism, not as great an enemy of capitalism as is communism? The vestiges of liberalistic capitalism in Germany today are believed by experts to be not much, if any, greater than they are in the Soviet Union.

Before we can discover why and in what ways individuals deviate from the norms most of which those who adhere to them take for granted, we must discover what the norms are to which people are expected to conform, and to what extent they have the same meaning for and are shared by the various participants and spectators in the society or social world in question. A cursory survey reveals that such consensus as does exist in modern western society when it is not at war is extremely limited in the sense that those who participate in the consensus constitute only a small proportion of the total society. Moreover, due to the voluntary selection of the members of interest groups in our society into more or less homogeneous units such as political and religious sects, the probability of intragroup consensus in the small intimate aggregates is considerably greater than inclusive intergroup consensus in the larger society. Similarly, we may have segmental consensus without total or integral consensus, in the sense that we may understand each other on a limited number of subjects but not on all the crucial issues with reference to which we are expected to collaborate.<sup>9</sup> The present state of the labor movement in the United States furnishes an example of lack of organization if not disorganization that follows from the failure to develop such total or integral consensus, for while the CIO and the AFL may well be agreed on the need for the effective organization of labor to carry out collective bargaining, the differential interests and the common interests of craft unions representing skilled workers as distinguished from industrial unions representing workers in the mass industries have not found expression in corresponding ideologies or unambiguously formulated programs. Similarly, the failure to develop a program which would reconcile the immediate as distinguished from the long-run objectives has long been a source of ineffectiveness in the socialist movement.

Aside from the failure to develop an integrated ideology which will reflect the consensus of a group on those values on which there might well be consensus and on which there must be consensus if the group is to act ef-

<sup>9</sup> It is, of course, conceivable that there should be inclusive segmental consensus in the sense of universal agreement within the society on a limited number of issues. This is an essential supposition of liberalism.

fectively as a unit, we must also consider types of situations in which groups with a marked degree of functional interdependence fail to develop an adequate ideology because in some respects they are in conflict with one another. Thus, within the labor movement, groups have often failed to achieve effective unity because racial or religious ideologies have divided them and set them against one another, although their economic and political interests and ideologies were largely congruent with one another. The demoralization of the German labor movement before Hitler, and the deleterious effect on labor solidarity in the United States due to prejudice against admitting Negro workers into the trade unions are instances in point.

Since consensus conditions and is the product of the participation of persons in a common life, the limits of consensus are marked by the range of effective communication. Consensus may disintegrate because communication between the individuals and groups who are expected to act collectively is reduced to a minimum. As John Dewey has pointed out, "Everything which bars freedom and fullness of communication sets up barriers which divide human beings into sets and cliques, into antagonistic sects and factions, and the democratic way of life is undermined."<sup>10</sup>

There are many typical instances in which we find that the consensus which exists is purely verbal, without manifesting itself in concerted action. In such cases, we are dealing with what might be called mere lip service to the prevailing ideologies. It is almost certain that a person who would literally follow the ideology of the Christian religion as set forth in any of its denominational versions for even as short a period as twenty-four hours would find himself in conflict with his fellow Christians who ostensibly profess the same doctrines and creeds but interpret them less literally. The more denotative and precise the definition of our values becomes, the more likely it is that fewer individuals will share them. A united front movement must obviously employ an ideology which will appeal not only to the working classes but to the middle classes and professional groups as well. The more it does this, the less distinguishable it will be from other groups in the political arena with which it is at war. As its slogans are designed to attract the largest possible number, it cannot well expect to enlist the complete and unqualified loyalty of any one of the groups which have only temporarily compromised their sectarian position for the sake of union. The fact that our ideologies have become widely disseminated through propaganda fostered by interest groups makes us regard them with less naive fervor than our ancient faiths whose source was attributed to a prophet's revelation or whose origin was obscured by timeless tradition.

Before considering the extent to which a multiplicity of ideologies may be taken as a symptom of impending or actual disorganization of the ethos of a society and of its specific institutions around which they develop, it

<sup>10</sup> John Dewey, in *John Dewey and the Promise of America*, 15, New York, 1939.

is well to consider their normal functions. Ideologies develop in the course of ordinary group life when it becomes necessary to make the premises, values, and ends of the collectivity explicit, and to provide the social movements that emerge in societies with a body of doctrines, beliefs, and myths. As Park says:

... the ideology of a society or of a social group is, like its customs and its folkways, an integral part of its social structure. . . . The ideology of a class, caste, or social group seems to perform the same role in the functioning of a collective unit that the individual's conception of himself performs in the function of his personality. As the individual's conception of himself projects his acts into the future and in that fashion serves to control and direct the course of his career, so in the case of a society its ideology may be said to direct control, and give consistency, in the vicissitudes of a changing world, to its collective acts.<sup>11</sup>

In the actual struggle, however, of the divergent interest groups to gain recognition and power, and in the attempt of a society to maintain itself intact against the currents of social change, it happens that the ideologies that come to be formulated do not always directly and fully reveal the common objectives of the group in an unambiguous fashion. They may be used to conceal as well as to reveal the true interests of those interested in propagating them. The ideology may be designed to serve as a weapon of attack against inner and outer enemies, and to formulate the criticisms of whatever contrary interpretation of the world the group finds it necessary to attack and condemn. Conversely, the ideology constitutes a body of defensive arguments to furnish legitimation for the group's program, aspirations, and the means for achieving them. It is used as an instrument to justify the group's existence and purpose both to the members and outsiders. Since it is not merely a statement of ends but an instrument for achieving these ends, the ideology must function to gain and hold adherents; hence it must not merely articulate policies but also guide the tactics and practical operations. It must not only furnish direction but offer attraction, inspiration, hope, and maintain discipline and morale. It must be ambiguous enough to enlist widespread support and yet definitive enough to attract attention, to be distinctive, and to induce active identification. If we seek to establish consensus in contemporary society, even on a few fundamental issues, it cannot obviously be attained by pursuing a *laissez faire* policy.

*Ideologies as Instruments in Social Reorganization.* In a world such as that of Europe in the Middle Ages, before the advent of mass literacy and mass democracy, the discussion of ideas was the exclusive preoccupation of a very small delimited section of society, but since then the authoritarian sanctions of church and state have been undermined. Today, with mass communication, the newspaper, the radio, the motion picture, and with the political power resident in the masses of men who have to be persuaded or moved, the

<sup>11</sup> Park, *op. cit.*, 9.



dissemination of ideas has become an art and a big business. Propaganda has become the price we pay for our literacy and our suffrage. We have become the victims of the mouthpieces and loudspeakers of those who have acquired the power to make decisions and those who seek to wrest it from them. Propaganda has become the chief means for enlarging the scope of consensus and the number of persons sharing it, and the consensus that we get as a result is often an unstable and spurious one. In the effort of every ideology to gain worldwide circulation and acceptance and to universalize itself, it must obviously increasingly be simplified and debased. It must appear to be internally consistent. Its internal contradictions and its logical weak spots must be obscured, and the events which might test it must never occur. While strengthening solidarity among its adherents, it must necessarily sharpen and exaggerate the differences in extragroup relations.

While on the one hand ideologies tend to build up consensus, they also undermine consensus. In gaining force and acceptability, they often become rigid and ossified and thus reduce their elasticity in the face of changing situations. An existing ideology also prevents the emergence of a new ideology which might be more congruent with an emerging situation requiring a new orientation and adjustment. Ideologies, like other products of cultural life, tend to continue to exist for reasons other than those that brought them into existence. Like the interest groups and the functionaries that have a stake in other institutions, so the pressure groups and their functionaries—in this case the intellectuals—have a proprietary interest in the maintenance of the ideologies which they sponsor.

When the philosophy of a group is made explicit and becomes conscious, it tends to be deprived of the spontaneous loyalty and adherence of the group and must seek support through contrived persuasion and studied means of propaganda. From the standpoint of social solidarity, the difference between contemporary society and a less segmentalized social order is essentially the difference between unreflective social cohesion brought about by tradition as distinguished from reflective cooperation induced by rational selection of common ends and means. Particularly in an urban world, where a wide variety of schemes of conduct representing divergent social worlds meet, clash, and interpenetrate, the chances of any one set of norms surviving or emerging as sacred for all are slender. Here, if anywhere, we should find doctrines and principles losing force and faith decaying as sophistication progresses. The disillusionment of their respective sympathizers that has followed in the wake of the tactical twists and turns of Communist and Nazi policies toward one another's program has been one of the startling events of the last few months. It has left the supporters of the respective ideologies in a state of confusion and demoralization.

We are inclined to call a person naive who takes at face value what he reads in the papers or hears over the radio, or who embraces the planks in a

party platform as a faith and a correct chart of what the party will do when it comes into power. Cynicism with reference to the alleged values of contending groups and skepticism with reference to the alleged truths have become marks characteristic of the modern sophisticated man. We seek to protect ourselves against being taken in by the alluring ideologies that beckon for our allegiance by the systematic development of detachment, distrust, and suspicion, and a more or less elaborate armamentarium of counterarguments and rationalization. The force of these ideologies has consequently been dulled. Every faith is suspect, no prophet is regarded as infallible, no leader sincere, no mission inspired, and no conviction unshakable. We cultivate a lack of confidence towards those who are our partners and our leaders, and we privatize our existence. Frequently, our incorporation in a movement or a society consists in nothing more than the mere verbal utterance that we accept a creed or doctrine without professing to understand it or to take it seriously. When the symbols representing the values of a society fall into such a state of decay, we approach the condition of *anomie* which Durkheim describes as a state of social void or normlessness in which certain types of suicide, crime, family and community disorganization, and social disorder flourish.

Through the analysis of our ideologies, we may be able to discover the clues that indicate the disintegration of our social structure and to spot the areas of life where disorganization threatens to occur. The ambiguities of systems of values and the contradictions between them reflect, not merely the segmentalization of society, but its effort to discover a deliberate and consciously contrived basis for conformity when these spontaneous acceptances of the norms can no longer be relied upon. In the course of reconstructing a literate and democratic society upon this new basis, the ideologies of the segmental groups within societies and of the larger social aggregates which comprise them vie with one another, with the result that no single system of values can expect universal acceptance, and the conduct of the large masses of individuals is increasingly privatized.

Until we can specify these norms and describe their content and meaning, their relation to one another, and their congruence with the problems of daily living, the study of both personal and social disorganization and our attempts to treat them, cannot hope to be adequate. In the study of social disorganization, therefore, as in the study of human social life generally, while it is desirable to concentrate on overt action—of which, of course, language itself is one form—it is not so irrelevant as some have thought to take account of what people say. For despite the deflections, distortion, and concealment of their verbal utterances, men do betray, even if they do not always accurately and completely reveal in them, their motives and their values, and if we do not have an understanding of these motives and values, we do not know men as social beings.

## SOME ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL DISORGANIZATION\*

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**D**EFINITION. A definition of the terms "institution" and "disorganization" as here employed would seem imperative in order to avoid confusion since both are currently used in various ways. Among the various uses of "institution"<sup>1</sup> by sociologists, two are outstanding. The older is the *nominalistic* conception in which an institution is regarded as a highly generalized societal phenomenon which has no specific spatial or temporal existence. It is this conception which is implied in the use of collective nouns like *the family* and *the state*. Obviously, specific families and particular states are but "imperfect" instances of the "type." The second usage may be termed the *realistic*, according to which specific instances of the foregoing are "institutions." Thus, some sociologists apply the term "institution" to specific "groups" or "associations" or "organizations," such as the Smith family, the First Congregational Church of Akron, the University of Warsaw, *when these local phenomena conform to a widely diffused pattern*. In this discussion, "institution" will be used in the latter sense, that is, particular local groups or associations which have a relatively permanent and formalized nucleus of social roles are regarded as institutions. It is not implied, however, that institutions in the more general sense cannot manifest disorganization, but merely that it is the local and specific groups which are organized or disorganized and when viewed in the aggregate may reveal organization or disorganization of the "institution" in the broader sense.

It seems necessary, however, briefly to explain the conception of disorganization which is here assumed. Disorganization, as a point of departure, may be regarded in the now traditional sense of Thomas and Znaniecki.<sup>2</sup> It refers to the relative absence or decline of formerly established controls over the behavior of persons in institutional roles and a resultant reduction in the coordination of activities; its ultimate end is disintegration—a sort of atomization of the *socii*. This general conception of the phenomenon of disorganization could apply to any pattern of collective behavior ranging from the husband-wife group to an entire nation or to Western

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. H. Hamilton, "Institution," *Ency. Soc. Sci.*, vol. VIII: 84-89; L. V. Ballard, *Social Institutions*, 3, New York, 1936; J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, 2-8, New York, 1929; F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, New York, 1935; E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, 155-156, New York, 1932. Though by no means exhaustive, these works give expression to various conceptions of "institution."

<sup>2</sup> *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Vol. II: 1127-1300, New York, 1927.

civilization itself. Later efforts have been made to make the meaning of the concept more specific by setting up more or less specific "symptoms," "indices," or "criteria" of disorganization.<sup>3</sup>

Some sociologists have suggested discarding the concept because it seemed to them to have an inherent "value-connotation" incapable of objectivity; others have defended the value-approach to the study of certain specific phenomena, especially in the realm of "social problems";<sup>4</sup> and still others have attempted to define the concept so as to free it of value-judgment.<sup>5</sup> Despite all that has been written, little fundamental change of the Thomas-Znaniecki usage has resulted, with the possible exception that problems of objectification of usage are more conspicuously to the fore. Disorganization will be employed here essentially in the sense of Thomas and Znaniecki; in the course of discussion, this general conception will be made more specific by the delimitation of attributes.

The phrase "institutional disorganization" thus becomes a paradoxical one. One outstanding characteristic or criterion of institutionality is organization and integration of activity, whereas "disorganization" connotes the relative absence of organization and integration. Hence, the study of institutional disorganization resolves itself into the task of discovering the relative degree to which two antithetical factors, organization and disorganization, are present.

*The "Organization" of Institutions.* There exists in the total complex which is called an institution a system of concepts and a complex of social roles which control the behavior of the functionaries of the institution, whether officers, patrons, members, clients, donors, or other categories of constituents.<sup>6</sup> Some of these controls are formal and consist of constitutions, by-laws, rules and regulations, laws, charters, etc. Others are informal and consist of customary taboos, sanctions, and motivations for behavior in the form of institutional folkways, mores, conventionalized practices, and definitions of situations. Most institutions involve a relatively complex and integrated pattern including both formal and informal systems of relationships. The total result is a standardized-diversified system of relationships—standardized and uniform so far as particular categories of functionaries are concerned, but diversified as between groups of functionaries. Thus, for example, all of the members of a church have more or less standardized

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., *Amer. J. Sociol.*, May 1937; Elliot and Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, New York, 1934; Queen, Bodenhafer, and Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, New York, 1935; and Sutherland and Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, Philadelphia, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., R. C. Fuller, "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, November 1938.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g., John F. Cuber, "The Measurement and Significance of Institutional Disorganization," *Amer. J. of Sociol.*, November 1938.

<sup>6</sup> See W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 53, Boston, 1907. The "structure" of an institution, he says, consists of "a framework or apparatus or perhaps only a number of functionaries set to cooperate in prescribed ways at a certain juncture."



behavior patterns but these are different from those of the clergy or the members of the board of trustees. "Institutions" consist, in the socio-psychological sense, of a somewhat intricate pattern of standardized-diversified role relationships.

*Manifestations of Disorganization in Institutions.* It is an observation common to most students of collective behavior that the interrelationship and integration of social roles, which is the essence of institutionality, fluctuate from time to time in the degree of integration and the effectiveness of the functioning of the interrelated parts.<sup>7</sup> Some of the manifestations of lack of organization are periodic: (a) challenges to the customary pattern of subordination and superordination among functionaries; (b) conflicts over fundamental values which are implied or expressed in the institutional system; and (c) weakening of the sanctions for behavior or the taboos against particular behavior for functionaries. In all three of these manifestations, a time sequence is unavoidably implied; that is, there are variations of frequency and intensity in the degree to which patterns of subordination and superordination are challenged, conflict over values is apparent, and behavior sanctions lose their force.

However firmly entrenched and neatly organized a system of subordination of persons may be in a given institution, there are alternative systems which are latent. Usually, the pressure of social change results in focusing attention upon some imperfection in the existing pattern, alternative patterns cease to remain dormant, and the vulnerability of the established system of social roles is tested. Some of the most apparent manifestations of weakening patterns of subordination and superordination are the appearance of conflicting leaderships, such as that of the Committee for Industrial Organization within the American Federation of Labor or the "conservative" faction in the Democratic Party. In both instances, these functionaries were subordinate in the institutional hierarchy of roles but they exceeded the "powers" of their roles and by their own definition of their new roles became insubordinate to the older role pattern, and in the cited cases, openly challenged it. Conflicting leaderships of this sort may in time lose their vitality and be reassimilated or accommodated in the institutional hierarchy. Until such time, however, as the new autonomous institution emerges, "disorganization" in the original institution is apparent and it materially hinders the functioning of the institution on the basis of precrisis standards.

Frequently basic to challenges to the subordination-superordination pattern is a weakening of the consensus relative to the values which underlie the institution. (Of course, there may be value-conflict which is not ex-

<sup>7</sup> In a recent work, *Major Social Institutions*, New York, 1939, Panunzio applies the term "maladjustment" to this condition, although most writers seem to follow the lead of Cooley in *Social Organization*, Part V, New York, 1909 and term the condition "disorganization."

pressed in this way and leadership-conflict without value-conflict.) It appears that value consensuses are most vulnerable during periods of accelerated social change when traditional ideologies of the institution are brought to bear upon new or modified "external" conditions, or when a new situation brings into bold relief certain latent inconsistencies between values. For example, traditional political party organization is able in most situations to maintain agreement on policy, not because all the members agree on the policy, but because they agree on the fundamental value of party harmony. Occasionally, however, another value comes into conflict and party harmony seems less important in comparison to "keeping us out of war" or "protecting the American Way" or "maintaining an autonomous judiciary." Under these conditions, functional organization of the party is reduced; subordinates "break" with superiors "on principle." Or again, the value-conflict may be relatively enduring as, for instance, is evidenced in the disorganization of a family when values involving marital chastity and "individualism" come into conflict; the established patterns of behavior are no longer adequate to the situation as customarily defined.

It is not merely the fact of value disagreement or divergent standards of behavior which manifest disorganization. So long as the integration of social roles is not affected and the system of interrelationships within the organization is not reduced, there is not disorganization. Disagreement which can be compromised or in some other way incorporated may not involve disorganization at all. Thus, for example, if value disagreement concerning educational policy in a university threatens the hierarchy of organization, it may come to be rationalized "as within the province of academic freedom" or "individual opinion" or a manifestation of "liberalism" in the administrative policy of the institution. But if the value disagreement disturbs the hierarchy of functionaries, upsets the system of subordination-superordination and the perquisites of position and no new system takes its place, then there is disorganization. *The essence of "organization" seems to be a consensus relative to how one role relates to another and what a given person filling a given role should and should not do*, even in respect to proper areas and limits to the originality which the role incumbent may manifest.

Another phase of disorganization in institutions is change in participation. The functioning of an institution is based upon participation in social roles of various persons. This participation is a psychosocial phenomenon involving, usually, both overt and covert associational behavior as required by the role. When the volume or nature of participation (as measured through indices such as memberships, attendance, payment of dues or other functional support, or function in official positions) is changed disorganization may result. Institutional participation tends to become more or less routinized and a sort of equilibrium established between numbers of related

functionaries. Thus, in a given university dependent largely on student tuition for its income, a faculty-student ratio of 1-13 becomes "standard." Enrollment falls and the ratio is reduced. Alternative feasible adjustments appear: dismissal of staff, reduction of salaries, postponement of promotions and cancellation of sabbaticals, and the incurring of debt. Whichever course or courses is chosen, a reorganization is involved; established relationships must be changed, and during the interim before a new order is effected, disorganization is (relatively) in existence. Again, in a certain family, a particular division of labor and authority between husband and wife is effected and followed for a time based upon the daily presence of both in the home. The husband then goes on an extended business trip or changes positions and is no longer at home daily. A new system of labor and family government is needed, and during the interval before the new system is formed and established, disorganization is likely to be apparent. Thus, as there occurs a marked change in the amount of institutional participation, disorganization tends to result—the old relationships among the functioning persons are no longer adequate and no new system can be effected at once. All changes in participation, however, are not disorganization; only those changes which entail a disturbance of the interrelated and correlated pattern of roles and that in sufficient magnitude to impede customary efficiency in functioning. The criterion of "efficiency" involves an important methodological point.

*Methodological Aspects.* To recapitulate: the basic sociopsychological aspect of disorganization in institutions is the disequilibrium and discoordination of relationships among persons in institutional roles. This condition may be brought about through a weakening of subordination-superordination patterns, a conflict over values of sufficient importance to impede established functioning, or a weakening of institutional sanctions for behavior which the institution has routinized. These conditions, however, become significant as indicators of disorganization only when the degree of their presence is sufficient to disturb institutional relationships among persons and thus to impede functioning. Obviously, the use of terms such as "degree" and "sufficient" implies a comparison. The implied comparison is between conditions at a given time and a "norm of organization" which the student of the institution has previously discovered. The so-called norm of organization is really a maximum and minimum limit of the amount of violation of subordination-superordination, value disagreement, and unstandardized behavior which the organization can assimilate and define as "normal." The discovery of this norm-range of "disorganization tendencies" (which is short of disorganization as the term is here used) involves a fundamental methodological problem which the student of objective disorganization cannot escape.

It seems impossible to determine from an examination of conditions at a

*given* time, except in a historical context, whether or not disorganization exists. Since a comparison is implied in the concept, a time-sequence study is implied in its application to observed phenomena. From an intensive contemporary study of a family, the student might find a degree of interpersonal coordination of behavior which might seem "low" and would suggest to him a possible condition of disorganization, but he might find that the traditional and accepted organization of that group provided for approximately that degree of coordination and not necessarily any more. It is thus defined by the members. The family might be less organized than some other one, but disorganization as here used implies not a comparison *between* institutions but a *linear* comparison in a *given* institution.

The principal, if not indispensable, research technique or group of techniques for the determination of the degree of organization-disorganization manifested in a given institution at a given time is the long-time institutional case study as suggested by Cooley<sup>8</sup> and used by numerous sociologists who write "natural histories" of groups. With the passing of time, fluctuations in the coordination of social roles can be noted and the minimum norms of organization revealed. That this is a subtle problem and involves precision in observation and insight is obvious. Possibly research techniques are not yet sufficiently precise to permit such work.

Perhaps the most difficult methodological problem encountered arises in connection with long-run studies of institutions in which the norms of organization change. A system of interrelationships which may be regarded objectively as disorganization at one time may be (under a different definition of the requisite norms of organization) regarded as organization at a later time. Thus, for example, many contemporary metropolitan families are based upon an integration of roles which is regarded *by them* as adequate today, but which would have been regarded as "intolerable looseness" two generations ago in the same city and in the same social stratum. Similarly, a church in an interstitial urban area may be satisfactorily organized for successful functioning without even a membership role and no "pledges" of financial support. Thirty years ago that would have been disorganization—now it maintains organization; the requisites of the participant role of church members in that church have been changed. For this reason, a *continuous* set of data on institutional role-patterns and interpersonal interactions is imperative in order that the referent be clear when *disorganization* is alleged. There is a fundamental difference between mere change in the norms of organization of an institution and disorganization which involves a disruption of the requisite relationships and roles which have existed preceding the alleged "disorganization."

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Cooley, *Pub. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 1928, 22: 123-132.



## MOBILITY AND FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

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**M**OBILITY is significantly, although indirectly, related to the disorganization of the individual family and to the disorganization of family folkways and mores. While mobility also has organizing effects, this paper is concentrated on the disorganization of the family. The tentative propositions which are stated have emerged in part from general reading and thought on the subject and in part from a study which the author is making of the factors in the marital adjustment of divorced couples in comparison with married couples.

*The Disruption of the Individual Family.* Mowrer, in a comparison of 1000 divorced cases which came before the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, in 1919, with a control group of 1000 nondivorced cases, demonstrated a statistical relationship between mobility and divorce.<sup>1</sup> He found (1) that the mean number of years per address of the control group was 56 percent greater than the divorced group;<sup>2</sup> (2) that the mean years per community address of the control group was 62 percent greater than for the divorced group;<sup>3</sup> (3) that prior to their separation, divorced families moved more often into areas of greater family disintegration (number of divorces and desertions per 10,000 population) than did the control group.<sup>4</sup>

We agree with Mowrer that the disorganization of the individual family and the mobility of city life are closely associated. However, we raise the additional question as to the specific ways in which mobility is associated with the disorganization of the individual family. Four possible relationships are presented in the following paragraphs.

First, if differences in the mobility of the several members of a family put the members in contact with different patterns of behavior, divergent behavior may be developed in those members and incompatibility within the family may result. The several members of a family may differ from each other in the intimacy, frequency, and length of their contacts or in the types of behavior contacted. These differences in contacts may result in the disruption of either the inner unity or the structural form of the family, or both. It is pretty well established that if individuals are in intimate contact with divergent patterns of behavior over a sufficiently long period, former alien standards tend to become their standards. Consequently, if members of a family, because of necessity or desire, move in different social worlds, go to different types of movies, or in any way regularly and intimately contact different patterns of behavior, they will tend to become individualized. This

<sup>1</sup> Ernest R. Mowrer, *The Family*, 193-206, Chicago, 1932. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 196. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 203-205. Rates of family disintegration for areas of Chicago were worked out in Mowrer's earlier book, *Family Disorganization*, Chicago, 1927. See pp. 116 ff.

is the situation in modern societies where ease and speed of transportation and communication tend to bring the individual members of families into differential association with cultural values. Whenever there is a high degree of mobility, in the sense indicated above, there will be a high degree of actual or potential disorganization of the individual family.

The disorganization of Jewish immigrant families illustrates the effect on the individual family of spatial mobility which involves differential assimilation. In the old country, these Jews had been isolated from surrounding cultural patterns because of legal restrictions on residence and consequently they came to America with a strong allegiance to their cultural values. These values included responsibility of the group for the welfare of the individual and the obligation of the individual to conform and be obedient to group traditions. Group traditions included respect for the father, authority of the father over the children even until marriage, participation in religious rites and ceremonies, and strict observance of the Sabbath. But in America the family is no longer isolated and the different members of the family participate not only in the Jewish cultural world but in varying degrees move out into the American cultural world.

The children attend the public schools and, through formal school training and informal associations at school, they are introduced to a radically different set of patterns from those of their parents. Later, the children participate in the economic life of the community and the boys generally excel their fathers in securing positions of economic value or prestige. Through participation in the academic, economic, and other phases of American life, there occurs a slow and subtle penetration of American cultural patterns into the Jewish community. As a result, old controls break down and the individual family tends to become temporarily or permanently disrupted. The disorganization of the Jewish immigrant family is traceable to the clash between family and community standards, and this in turn results from the mobility of the individual family members.<sup>5</sup>

Second, the individual family may become disorganized as the result of moving to a strange community, because such moving tears the family from the social matrix of which it has been a part and detaches it from the extrafamilial social attachments which gave it support in the former location. If the members of a family have few extrafamilial relationships, or, if in the new location, the time and energy of the various members is sufficiently absorbed in satisfying pursuits, the breaking of extrafamilial associations will probably not be very disorganizing for the family. But, if a member of a family has built up satisfying attachments or has had positions of importance in the former location and no satisfying outlets for his or her talents are found in the new location, that person may feel lost, homesick,

<sup>5</sup> For an excellent description of disorganization in the Jewish immigrant family see Pauline V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian Town*, Chicago, 1932; also her article, "The Reorganization of Jewish Family Life in America: A Natural History of the Social Forces Governing Assimilation of the Jewish Immigrant," *Social Forces*, 238-243, Dec. 1928.

and depressed. When a family moves into a strange community, it generally takes considerable time to form satisfying attachments or to secure positions of prestige. This is especially true for wives and older children as contrasted with husbands and young children. In such a situation, a wife may patiently wait for the passage of the necessary time, or turn to the members of the family for the satisfaction of her desires and be more firmly united with them than formerly, or she may become discontented, irritable, and nervous. In the latter instance, situations which formerly would have caused no difficulty, now create tension and strain and the inner unity or the structural form may be temporarily or permanently disrupted.

Vertical mobility is a third way in which mobility is associated with the disorganization of the individual family. Family disorganization may result from the movement of an individual member of a family or a family as a group from one social class to another social class, for instance, from a lower to a higher economic level. The consequences of vertical mobility are similar to those described above under differential association with cultural values and the uprooting of the family from the social matrix of which it has been a part. Differential assimilation of cultural values may occur if one or some members of a family intimately contact the ways of behavior of the new social level, while other members remain relatively isolated from that social level. The result in such a case is actual or potential family disorganization. When a family engages in vertical mobility, extrafamilial contacts with members of the former social class are disturbed and no satisfying attachments are made in the new class. This tends to disrupt inner family unity.

A fourth factor in individual family disorganization is mere separation in space of the members of a family through their differential mobility. This proposition that disorganization may result from mere movement in space which does not involve contacts with different culture patterns is contrary to the position of most writers on mobility,<sup>6</sup> who follow Burgess who fifteen years ago made the statement that social change is not affected by mere movement, per se, but only by a new situation or stimulus.<sup>7</sup> Our conclusion is that movement, as such, particularly if the absence of the members of a family from each other is extended, will cause a breakdown of psychological and social relationships among the members. The mere distance of the members from each other means that they will see and communicate with each other only occasionally with the result that the family will lose its primary significance for them. Moreover, an extended absence of any member means that the roles which he had been playing in the family will either go unperformed or be assumed by other persons and in either case the unity of the interacting persons will be disturbed. In other words, mere separation tends to lead to psychological withdrawal of the

<sup>6</sup> Ernest R. Mowrer, *The Family* 193-194; Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, 200, New York, 1934.

<sup>7</sup> Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," 58, *The City*, edited by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, Chicago, 1925.



members from each other and to the disruption of the interlocking roles.

In the case of husbands and wives, an extended absence from each other during the first few months of married life is not as disorganizing to familial relationships as it is at a later period. In America, the romantic attitudes associated with marriage are perpetuated for a few months after marriage and absence during this time simply leads to continued contacts with the loved one in imaginary conversations, through the writing of letters, or through other means of communication. However, after the emotionalism connected with romanticism has worn off, an extended absence from home is much more disorganizing to familial relationships, for communication will be less frequent and actual contacts with other persons, possibly of the opposite sex, will tend to be substituted for imaginary conversations with the wife or husband. Under such conditions, mere movement away from home may be the primary factor in family disorganization.

*The Disruption of Familial Folkways and Mores.* Thus far, we have been considering how families under a given institutional pattern become disorganized as the result of mobility. We now consider how general institutional patterns are modified by mobility. When the modifications are sudden and extensive, we may call the change disorganization.

Mobility is associated with the modification of familial folkways and mores in at least two ways. First, mobility makes for contacts with divergent patterns of behavior and such contacts are essential for major changes in cultural forms. All cultures which are relatively consistent within themselves are either geographically or psychologically isolated from divergent cultures. Contact with another culture is a prerequisite to any considerable modification of cultural forms.<sup>8</sup> Thus, a given cluster of familial folkways and mores will undergo decided transformations if they are in intimate and prolonged contact with a divergent set of familial folkways and mores.

Contact with another culture may lead to the disintegration of political, economic, or religious ways of behavior and this in turn may result in the disintegration of familial folkways and mores. The usual result of the conversion of a group to a foreign religion, such as an African tribe to Christianity, is that other cultural patterns of the group undergo radical modifications. In other words, familial folkways and mores are weakened and modified through the removal of religious or other institutional patterns.

Mere movement in space of variant individuals or individual families is a second way in which mobility is related to the disorganization of familial folkways and mores. Mere movement in space of variant individuals is closely related to mobility involving contacts with divergent cultural patterns. If there has been contact with a divergent culture, and if there has been any considerable incorporation of divergent familial patterns into the behavior of the members of a group, then mere movement of the variant individuals may be conducive to the further disorganization of the prevail-

<sup>8</sup> Inner crises within a geographically or psychologically isolated area might result in a sudden and considerable disintegration of some cultural patterns.



ing familial folkways and mores. Mere mobility to a new location removes the variant individuals or families from the social restraints and social controls of primary relationships, makes them free to neglect or violate traditional folkways and mores, allows them to express overtly behavior which previously had been inhibited because of social pressures, and thus makes it possible for the divergent patterns to become more firmly entrenched in the variant individuals. If and when these individuals or families go back to their original groups, they constitute a real threat to the traditional familial patterns. This is particularly true if the number of such deviant persons is large. The new ways of behavior not only may be unwittingly practiced but conscious attempts may be made to undermine established customs and traditions and thus promote divergent cultural patterns.

Moreover, mere movement, as such, may be the primary factor in the disorganization of familial patterns in that the culture of a group may die out through the mere scattering of its supporters. The perpetuation of many African customs and traditions in the West Indies as contrasted with their almost complete elimination among Negroes in the United States constitutes one of the best illustrations of the disorganizing effects on a culture of the scattering of its supporters. While students of the Negro social heritage differ as to the exact degree to which Negro African folkways and mores have been eliminated in the United States,<sup>9</sup> they agree that Negroes in the United States have been almost completely stripped of their African heritage as contrasted with the survival of African culture patterns among Negroes in the West Indies.<sup>10</sup> The probable explanation of this is that in the United States as contrasted with the West Indies "there was less opportunity for a slave to meet one of his own people, because the plantations were considerably smaller, more widely scattered and, especially, because as soon as they were landed in this country, slaves were immediately divided and shipped in small numbers, frequently no more than one or two at a time, to different plantations."<sup>11</sup> A group of supporters is necessary for the survival of folkways and mores and if the supporters are permanently separated from each other, the folkways and mores will die out.

The disorganization of the kinship family system, or the *Grossfamilie*, as it came in competition with the "marriage family," or *Kleinfamilie*, is a historical illustration of the processes of cultural disorganization described above. Wherever mobility has been relatively easy and extensive the large family pattern of grandparents, the marriage family, uncles, aunts, in-laws, and other near relatives has disappeared. Thomas and Znaniecki in their

<sup>9</sup> Robert E. Park holds that Negroes in the United States have almost completely lost their African traditions and customs. "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *Journal of Negro History*, IV. Melville Herskovits believes that there is evidence that a considerable number of Negro beliefs and practices are traceable to an African origin. "On the Provenience of New World Negroes," *Social Forces*, Dec. 1933, 252-259.

<sup>10</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Ch. I, particularly p. 21, Chicago, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Robert E. Park, *op. cit.*, 117.

study of the Polish peasant in Europe and America concluded that the disorganization of the large family system in Poland was primarily due to the movement of individuals and "marriage families" to near-by cities, to Germany for the harvest, or to America.<sup>12</sup>

The historical disorganization of the large family pattern was related to cultural conflict, the removal of the buttressing support of other institutions, and the mere distance between the members of the large family. Cultural conflict between the conventional large family pattern and the deviant small family pattern was essentially conflict between custom and utility. The adoption of the small family pattern was forced upon some people because of the greater ease of movement of the individual family unit as contrasted with the difficulty of movement of the large family. Once the two patterns were present in a given cultural area, the greater utility of the small family led to the gradual disuse of the large family system. Second, a family system, such as the large kinship group, could hardly continue unless buttressed by the stability of traditional economic, political, religious, and other institutions; but the traditional character of these institutions has been greatly modified in Europe and America. Thus, the disorganization of the large family system is to be explained in part as the result of the withdrawal of the support of the stable institutions with which it had been integrated. Third, the breaking up of the large family system was related to the mere movement of individuals and individual "marriage families" to new locations. The mere spatial distance between the members decreased the support given to the large family system.

*Summary.* 1. The disruption of the individual family is related to spatial mobility involving contacts with new patterns of behavior, for this results in differential assimilation with the consequent probability that the members of the family will have divergent and incompatible standards of conduct. 2. Spatial mobility involving the movement of a family to a new location tears the family from the social matrix of which it has been a part. 3. Vertical mobility may lead to differential assimilation by the different members of a family or may separate the members of a family or a family as a whole from prior social attachments. 4. Mere movement of the members of a family to different locations, if permanent, inevitably will disintegrate the inner unity and consensus of that family. 5. The disorganization of familial folkways and mores is largely the result of cultural conflict between conventional and deviant forms of behavior and this is generally the result of contact of differing cultures resulting from spatial mobility. 6. The mere moving of deviant persons into secondary areas of contact permits the variant forms of behavior to become so firmly established that the deviant forms endanger the conventional folkways and mores. 7. A culture may die out as the result of the mere movement or scattering of its supporters.

<sup>12</sup> *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, V, 8-9, Boston, 1918.

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## OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND MARRIAGE SELECTION

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THE PROBLEM. Both psychologists and sociologists are busily engaged in ascertaining the factors important in marital compatibility. For the most part, the problem of assortative mating is dismissed with such generalizations as "Similarity in mates with respect to age, socioeconomic status, occupation, religion, nativity, education, etc., facilitates marriage choice," and "Men tend to 'marry down' (in terms of social status) more than women." In relation to the problem of marital happiness, as well as to the more general problem of assortative mating, it would be helpful to know more clearly the selective agencies operating in the marriage choice. Such knowledge would also throw light upon the controversial issue of "social classes" insofar as socioeconomic status is a factor in marriage.

This study is confined to an analysis of the role of socioeconomic status, as defined by occupation, in the marriage choices of all individuals of a single community, and directs itself to the following questions: (1) Do occupational groups of the same socioeconomic status intermarry to the extent that we can speak of "class endogamy?" If so, in which occupational groups is this most marked, and to what degree? (2) What changes in this field came about in the depression years? Did the proportion of marriages between members of different socioeconomic classes tend to increase during the depression? Did these effects last into the "recovery" period?

A partial answer to the first set of questions was given by Marvin in an extensive study of Philadelphia marriages during the period 1913-1916.<sup>1</sup> He found that men and women of the same occupation intermarried to a degree exceeding "chance expectation" in practically every occupation, and that in most cases the greater-than-chance excess was large. Although the present study tends to bear out Marvin's conclusion, the two sets of data are not comparable.<sup>2</sup> Popenoe, using data and methods of analysis very different from those of Marvin or of this study, comes to the conclusion that "assortative mating on the basis of occupational level does exist, but that it is largely a result of a more general similarity of socioeconomic family background; and that even this factor is a minor one in determining

<sup>1</sup> D. M. Marvin, "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *Publ. Amer. Statist. Assn.*, 1918-19, 16: 131-150.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Marvin included whole industries in his "occupational" classification, thus rendering analysis in terms of occupation-status groups and "marrying up or down" impossible; furthermore, his presentation in terms of greater-than-chance expectation of a man and a woman in the same occupation marrying is not very helpful in answering our questions.

a young man's choice of a wife, or vice-versa."<sup>3</sup> So far as we know, the only other study bearing on occupational status as a factor in marriage selection is of the ecological variety. Davie and Reeves' data substantiate, indirectly, the probability that the occupational status of marrying individuals tends to be the same or similar.<sup>4</sup> These three articles suggest, indirectly and incompletely, an affirmative answer to our first question, about the existence of "occupational endogamy" but they do not touch on depression effects.

*Procedure and Limitations.* Data on age, occupation, and nativity were tabulated for all of the marriages recorded in the town of Norwood, Mass., during the period 1872-1937. Norwood is located between Boston, Mass., and Providence, R. I., fourteen miles from the former. It had a population of 5480 in 1900, 10,997 in 1915, 15,049 in 1930, and 15,574 in 1935. It is primarily an industrial town; the major industries are wool and leather, printing, and the manufacture of inks, paper, and rubber goods.

Four periods were chosen for analysis: an 11-year period, 1900-1910, with a total of 893 marriages; a 6-year period, 1923-28, with a total of 845 marriages; a 3-year period, 1930-32, with a total of 369 marriages; and a 5-year period, 1933-37, with a total of 820 marriages. A different number of years was included in each period so that the number of cases would be relatively large and as nearly alike as possible—with the exception of the three depression years which must be considered as a separate unit.

Any classification of the occupations of marriage partners in terms of socioeconomic status (particularly when applied to marriage license data) has serious limitations.<sup>5</sup> Our material fits most adequately into the clas-

<sup>3</sup> Paul Popenoe, "Assortative Mating for Occupational Level," *J. Social. Psychol.*, 1937, 8: 270-274. Popenoe's group consisted of 620 individuals; his graduate students gathered the data about their friends. He ranked the male occupations on the basis of the amount of intelligence required to perform them. He then used a correlation technique and found that the correlation between husband's and wife's occupation was .28 and between husband's occupation and wife's father's occupation, holding husband's father's occupation constant, was .43 (P. E.'s less than  $\pm .05$ ). Popenoe's study is, then, only tangential to this one; his group is of a highly selective character; his analysis is not in terms of specific occupations or occupational-status-groups; we cannot, accordingly, infer anything as to inter-class marriage mobility or the endogamy of particular occupational classes.

<sup>4</sup> M. R. Davie, and R. J. Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Jan. 1939, 44: 510-517. In a group of 795 couples, of which both parties were resident in New Haven, 43.4 percent were residents of the same of 22 areas; 73.6 percent of the couples were residents of the same area or of the same type of area; the "sameness" is defined as 51 percent or more of the residents in the area having the same type of nativity, religion, occupation, and income. The authors make the inference that two individuals residing in the same type of area probably are alike in the above four respects, of which occupation is one.

<sup>5</sup> Use of the Barr Scale (for the Barr Scale, see L. M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. 1, 66-69) was not advisable for two reasons: (1) the scale ranks occupations in terms of intelligence; this does not provide a basis for grouping occupations in terms of socioeconomic classes; (2) individuals' designation of their occupation on the marriage license is sometimes ambiguous and usually lacking in precision; this limitation of the data is only accentuated by ascribing a definite numerical rank to a particular occupation, for it provides a quantitative exactness not justified by the original data.



sification of A. M. Edwards.<sup>6</sup> He distinguishes six broad socioeconomic status groups: (1) professional persons; (2) proprietors, managers, and officials; (3) clerks and kindred workers; (4) skilled workers and foremen; (5) semiskilled workers; and (6) unskilled workers. For purposes of this study, certain modifications of this classification were made: (1) For the summary tables semiskilled and unskilled workers were considered as of the same socioeconomic status, because (a) no clear line could be drawn between the two groups from the marriage license designation, particularly for the female occupations, and (b) there were too few cases of semiskilled workers to allow valid inference about them as a group; (2) certain occupations included in the professional group by Edwards, such as designers, newspapermen, artists, professional golfers, etc., were given a "semi-professional" rating, and, in the summary tables, assigned to the second or "business" group for males and to the professional group for females;<sup>7</sup> the male "professional" group is thus restricted to lawyers, engineers, teachers, doctors, and ministers; (3) women "at home," i.e., not gainfully employed, obviously cannot be given a socioeconomic status on the basis of occupation.<sup>8</sup> Marriages of Negroes, negligible in number, were omitted.

*Analysis of the Fact and Degree of Endogamy.* It was found that 57 percent of the women marrying during 1900-1910 listed no occupation; of the women marrying into the three upper-status classes of males, 75 percent listed no occupation; in contrast, less than 20 percent of the marrying women in recent years were without an occupation. We are forced, therefore, to restrict our analysis of the degree of endogamy to the three periods 1923-28, 1930-32, and 1933-37.

The role of status in marriage choice is clearly seen if we examine Table 1. We observe that the percentage of males marrying into the highest or lowest female status groups (i.e., professional or semiunskilled groups) varies directly with male status in 22 out of the 24 instances.<sup>9</sup> We observe also, that the percentage of white-collar males marrying white-collar females is greater, with one minor exception, than that of any other male group.

The most important points in Table 1 (B, C, and D) may be summarized

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the U.S.," *J. Amer. Statist. Assn.*, Dec. 1933, 28: 377-387.

<sup>7</sup> The "semiprofessional" occupations of males seem to rate in the top bracket of female occupations, since teaching is the only "traditional" profession with a large female membership.

<sup>8</sup> This difficulty could be obviated if a female were assigned status on the basis of her father's occupation (See Popenoe's study referred to above and Stouffer's suggestion in this regard; S. A. Stouffer, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression," Soc. Sci. Res. Council, *Bulletin No. 29*, 1937, 170 ff.). Massachusetts' marriage licenses, however, do not furnish information as to parents' occupation; furthermore, such an assignation of female status also has serious limitations (e.g., where the female's status is higher or lower than her father's and is more correctly inferred from her actual occupation).

<sup>9</sup> There are 5 percentage-rows being compared in each of the 6 columns, but there are only four relationships between the 5 percentages of each column.

as follows: on the whole, each group of males marries most frequently within the female group of its own status, next most frequently within the status class contiguous to its own, and least frequently within the more remote status class;<sup>10</sup> in no case does a significant proportion of a male group marry into a female group not the same, or contiguous to itself, in status.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF MALES MARRYING INTO SPECIFIED FEMALE GROUPS

B 1923-1928					
Male	Female				Total Cases
	Prof. (1)	White-collar (2)	Semi-unsk. (3)	At Home (4)	
1. Professional	31	29	14	26	42
2. Semiprof. and Business	30	29	15	26	73
3. White-collar	18	47	18	17	151
4. Total of 1, 2, and 3	(23)	(39)	(17)	(21)	(266)
5. Skilled workers	12	33	40	15	325
6. Semiunskilled workers	4	13	65	19	232
Total	13	29	39	18	823
C 1930-1932					
1. Professional	39	35	9	17	23
2. Semiprof. and Business	26	29	26	19	42
3. White-collar	27	47	15	11	62
4. Total of 1, 2, and 3	(29)	(39)	(17)	(15)	(127)
5. Skilled workers	10	34	42	15	133
6. Semiunskilled workers	8	17	49	26	98
Total	16	30	35	19	358
D 1933-1937					
1. Professional	52	27	5	16	56
2. Semiprof. and Business	31	38	13	18	68
3. White-collar	24	36	29	11	137
4. Total of 1, 2, and 3	(32)	(35)	(20)	(14)	(261)
5. Skilled workers	14	30	45	12	256
6. Semiunskilled workers	5	20	56	19	263
Total	17	28	40	16	780

Carrying out an analysis of Table 2 (B, C, and D) similar to that of Table 1, we observe that the percentage of females marrying into the highest or lowest male status groups varies directly with female status in 23 out of the 24 instances.<sup>11</sup> We note that, contrary to the "endogamy"

<sup>10</sup> The reader will note the exceptions by reference to Table 1.

<sup>11</sup> See Footnote 1 above.

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principle, a greater proportion of professional than white-collar women marry white-collar men in 2 out of the 3 periods.

In analyzing the frequency with which the three female groups marry into the male groups, we observe from Table 2 (B, C, and D) that only the lowest status female group marries "endogamously"—in a fashion com-

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES MARRYING INTO SPECIFIED MALE GROUPS

B 1923-1928					
Male	Female				Total (Pct.)
	Prof. (1)	White- collar (2)	Semi- unsk (3)	At Home (4)	
1. Professional	12	5	2	7	5
2. Semiprof. and Business	20	9	3	12	9
3. White-collar	25	29	9	16	18
4. Total of rows 1, 2, and 3	(56)	(43)	(14)	(36)	(32)
5. Skilled workers	36	44	40	32	39
6. Semiunskilled workers	8	12	46	29	28
Total Cases*	110	240	325	148	823

C 1930-1932					
1. Professional	16	7	2	6	6
2. Semiprof. and Business	19	11	9	12	11
3. White-collar	30	26	7	10	17
4. Total of rows 1, 2, and 3	(65)	(44)	(17)	(28)	(35)
5. Skilled workers	21	41	44	29	36
6. Semiunskilled workers	14	15	38	36	27
Total Cases*	57	111	126	64	358

D 1933-1937					
1. Professional	22	7	1	7	7
2. Semiprof. and Business	16	12	3	9	8
3. White Collar	25	22	12	12	17
4. Total of rows 1, 2, and 3	(63)	(40)	(16)	(28)	(32)
5. Skilled workers	27	34	36	23	31
6. Semiunskilled workers	10	23	45	40	32
Total Cases*	130	220	313	117	780

\* Two to 4 percent of the males marrying into each female group were "farmers," "students," or "unspecified"; these have been omitted from the computations in this table.

parable to the male groups. Considering the professional and business group of males as a single status group (making, thus a group of approximately the same size as that of professional women), we observe the following: (1) Semiunskilled women marry with increasing frequency into

male groups the lower the latter's status, with one minor exception; (2) white-collar women, on the other hand, marry with the greatest frequency into the skilled group, next into the white-collar group, and about evenly into the professional-business and semiunskilled groups; (3) in two of the three periods, professional women married with greatest frequency into the professional-business group, but they married skilled men most frequently in one period (1923-28), and more frequently than the white-collar men in another. Thus, there appears to be no uniform tendency.<sup>12</sup>

The final problem of this section of the study is the *degree of endogamy* of occupational groups; the major points have been suggested in the preceding discussion. From Tables 1 and 2 we can observe directly the percentage of males and females marrying into groups of their own status, as follows:

- 31-52 for professional men
- 36-47 for white-collar men
- 49-65 for semiunskilled men
- 62-68 for unskilled men (no semiskilled included)
- 32-38 for professional women
- 22-29 for white-collar women
- 38-46 for semiunskilled women

The male "endogamy" is greater than the female, and the male percentages above must be increased by 5 to 10, on the assumption that women "at home" are distributed on the status scale similarly to the observed distribution of female status in a particular male occupation; but one qualification must be kept in mind: the semiprofessional-business and skilled male groups cannot marry into their own status class, because they have no women of their own status, occupationally speaking, to marry.<sup>13</sup>

From the above discussion, it would appear as valid to stress the large degree of "exogamy" as to stress "endogamy." The latter seems striking if we compare the marrying habits of the top and bottom of the status scale. The percentage of professional men marrying professional or white-collar women was 60, 74, and 79 for the 1925, 1930, 1935 periods respectively. During the same respective periods, the percentage of unskilled men (no semiskilled included) marrying professional or white-collar women was 6, 6, and 12; and the percentage marrying semiunskilled women was 68, 64, and 62. We note consistent "exogamy," on the other hand, in the skilled

<sup>12</sup> We might explain away this last finding on the grounds that since there are almost three times as many skilled men as professional-business men, professional women would marry the former to a greater degree than the latter. It is true that in 1923-28 professional women married skilled men less than *chance* expectations (for the technique used in ascertaining the chance expectation of one group marrying another, see Marvin, *op. cit.*, 142), whereas they married professional-business men more than twice the chance expectation. In terms of actual numbers marrying, however, professional and white-collar women are not "endogamous."

<sup>13</sup> In the U.S. for 1930, the numerical ratio of gainfully employed men to gainfully employed women was approximately the same for the professional group, 18 to 1 for proprietors, etc., 5 to 3 for clerks, 76 to 1, 5 to 2, and 11 to 3 for skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers respectively. See Edwards, *op. cit.* Thus, there is no *occupationally definable* socioeconomic class of women comparable to business men or to skilled men; Norwood is no exception.



male and white-collar female groups. The percentage of skilled males marrying professional or white-collar females was 45, 43, and 43; and the percentage marrying semiunskilled women was 40, 42, and 45 for the same respective periods; the percentage of white-collar females marrying professional, business, or white-collar males was 43, 44, and 40 and marrying skilled males was 44, 41, and 34. A partial explanation of this "exogamy" is probably that socioeconomic status varies widely *within* these two groups, pointing to the need for a more refined definition of status in which education and other factors are held constant.

From Table 3 the reader will note that, for all occupational groups combined, 33 to 38 percent marry on their own level and approximately an equal percentage marry above and below their own level.

*Analysis of Depression Effects.* First, how did the "depression" affect the marriage rate? The number of marriages per year in Norwood were as follows: 1925, 137; 1926, 142; 1927, 149; 1928, 148; 1929, 158; 1930, 118; 1931, 125; 1932, 125; 1933, 154; 1934, 151; 1935, 168; 1936, 175; 1937, 175.

The total population rose from 14,151 in 1925 to 15,049 in 1930 and to 15,574 in 1935; the sharp drop of the crude marriage rate (marriages per 1000 total population) and its sharp rise from 1933-34 on is evident.

It is difficult to determine whether the depression effect on the marriage rate was differential for the various occupational classes. Comparing the makeup of the total marrying population in the depression and predepression years,<sup>14</sup> it appears that the low status occupational groups were affected more than the professional, business, and white-collar groups, contrary to expectations based on Bossard's study;<sup>15</sup> but lacking data on the number of marriageable males in the different groups, and even in the total population, let us turn to the changes during the depression in the status relationships between those individuals who did marry.

Did women "marry down" to a greater degree during 1930-32 than during 1923-28? Did any of the "depression" changes last into the recovery period, 1933-37? In Table 3, data are presented for individuals classified

<sup>14</sup> See, for females, the Total row in Table 1 and, for males, the Total column in Table 2.

<sup>15</sup> J. H. S. Bossard, "Depression and Pre-Depression Marriage Rates: A Philadelphia Study"; *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct. 1937, 2: 686-695. In this study, Bossard found that the marriage rate per 1000 marriageable males rose during the depression years in the Philadelphia areas containing a large proportion of Negroes and/or Italians and/or Russian Jews—individuals in service and manual labor occupations. The Norwood population is predominately of this low occupational status, and this is particularly true of the foreign-born groups; the Norwood foreign-born groups, however, are more of northwestern than of southeastern European extraction. Assuming that in Norwood the number of marriageable males in the various occupations was constant from 1928 to 1937, we can compare our findings with Bossard's. We would then infer that changes in the marriage rate are associated more closely with ethnic than with occupational-status factors, since in Norwood the skilled and semiunskilled males constituted a lesser proportion of the marrying population in 1930-32 and 1933-37 than before the depression (see Total column Table 2), whereas in Philadelphia males of this same occupational status, but of different ethnic composition, married more frequently during, than before, the depression.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF MALES AND FEMALES MARRYING "UP" OR "DOWN" IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP\*

B 1923-1928								
Male Occupation	Male Mobility				Female Occupation	Female Mobility		
	Total Cases	Up	Same	Down		Total Cases	Up	Same Down
1. Professional and Business	85	—	41	59	1. Professional and Semiprof.	110	—	32 68
2. White-collar	126	22	56	22	2. White-collar	240	14	30 57
3. Skilled	276	53	—	47	3. —	—	—	—
4. Semiskilled Unskilled	188	20	80	—	4. Semiskilled Unskilled	325	54	46 —
Total	675	31.3	37.9	30.8	Total	675	30.8	37.9 31.3
C 1930-1932								
1. Professional and Business	53	—	38	62	1. Professional and Semiprof.	57	—	35 65
2. White-collar	55	31	53	16	2. White-collar	111	18	26 56
3. Skilled	113	50	—	50	3. —	—	—	—
4. Semiskilled Unskilled	73	34	66	—	4. Semiskilled Unskilled	126	62	38 —
Total	294	33.7	33.0	33.3	Total	294	33.3	33.0 33.7
D 1933-1937								
1. Professional and Business	103	—	49	51	1. Professional and Semiprof.	130	—	38 62
2. White-collar	122	26	41	33	2. White-collar	220	19	23 59
3. Skilled	226	49	—	51	3. —	—	—	—
4. Semiskilled Unskilled	212	31	69	—	4. Semiskilled Unskilled	313	53	47 —
Total	663	31.5	37.1	31.4	Total	663	31.4	37.1 31.5

\* The number of individuals included in these tables is less than that included in Tables 1 and 2 due to the necessary omission of women "at home."

as marrying "up," "down," or on their same level during the three periods.

We note first, from Table 3, that even before the depression males did not "marry down" more than females.<sup>16</sup> We note secondly that during the

<sup>16</sup> A caution must be injected here, however. If we assign "white-collar" status to skilled males,\* they then marry white-collar females as of the "same" status instead of marrying "up." The total male percentages in Table 3 then read 15.4 up and 53.8 same, for 1923-28 (instead of 31.3 up and 37.9 same); 18.4 up and 48.3 same, for 1930-32; and 20.1 up and 48.6 same, for 1933-37; the percentages marrying "down" are not changed. We then have males as a whole marrying down almost twice as much as up—during all three periods, and, conversely, females marrying up much more than down. But such a placing of skilled males does not seem as valid as the scheme adopted in the tables. (\*on following page.)

three periods there is remarkably little variation (less than 3 percent) in the degree of marrying up or down, and that the slight changes in total mobility (which is greater during 1930-32 than in either of the other periods) affect males and females in exactly the same manner, the difference being less than .5 percent. We conclude that females, if they married down at all, did not do so uniformly in all classes. We must, then, analyze the depression tendencies of the specific groups.

(1) The percentage of white-collar females marrying down did not increase significantly from 1923-28 on; however, of those who did marry down, an increasing number and percentage married semiunskilled as versus skilled males (79, 73, and 59 percent in the three periods respectively married skilled males—21, 27, and 41 percent marrying into the lowest status male group). From Table 2, we note that 17 percent fewer white-collar females married white-collar or skilled males in 1933-37 than in 1923-28, whereas 11 percent more married semiunskilled males. Thus no more white-collar women married down in 1930-37 than in 1923-28, but those who did marry down married down further in the status scale.

(2) We see from the above that the white-collar and skilled males during the depression were not marrying white-collar women as much as in 1923-28. Whom were they marrying? (a) White-collar males were marrying both professional and semiunskilled women to a greater degree than before (the former, to the extent of 18, 27, and 24 percent; the latter, to the extent of 18, 15, and 29 percent for the three periods respectively<sup>17</sup>); white-collar men married fourteen domestics in 1933-37 and only one domestic in 1923-28. (b) Skilled males were marrying semiunskilled women to a slightly greater extent than before the depression (40, 42, and 45 for the three periods respectively<sup>18</sup>); but the more important fact is that during the depression, skilled males married less frequently than the other male groups.<sup>19</sup>

(3) In contrast to the other groups, professional and semiprofession males and females during the depression and recovery years tended to marry increasingly on their own status level.

We observed that the most marked instance of marrying down occurred during 1933-37 in the white-collar female group. Shall we consider this a "depression" phenomenon taking place during the "recovery" period? Such an explanation is plausible, but the "normal" marriage rate of the

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\* See Edwards, *op. cit.* In discussing socioeconomic groups by color, nativity, and sex, Edwards classes together professional and business (as we have done elsewhere in this study), white-collar and skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled, workers; he assumes, thus, that the rank of skilled males is closer to that of white-collar workers than to semiskilled or unskilled.

<sup>17</sup> See Table 1, Row 3.

<sup>18</sup> See Table 1, Row 5.

<sup>19</sup> In 1923-28, 1930-32, and 1933-37 skilled males comprised 39, 36, and 31 percent respectively of the total number of males marrying—see Table 2, Total column.

1933-37 period points to a different hypothesis. Stouffer and Lazarsfeld<sup>20</sup> found that in 1934, in upstate New York, the median age of wives to husbands aged 30 was the same as for previous years, implying that older husbands were not marrying women nearer their own age, as would be the case if they married during the recovery period the same women they postponed marrying during the depression. In Norwood, a certain number of white-collar women may have married down during the recovery period as an alternative to the spinsterhood implied in this situation.

*Conclusions.* In Norwood, Massachusetts, during the last 15 years males and females of a particular socioeconomic status, *as defined by occupation*, have, with a few minor exceptions, married individuals of the same status more frequently than individuals of any other *particular* status. Except for semiskilled and unskilled males, however, the degree of this "class endogamy" is less than 50 percent—i.e., males and females of a particular socioeconomic status marry most frequently individuals of other statuses *combined*. These "exogamic" marriages tend, nevertheless, to be between individuals of contiguous social classes, so that wide disparities in the status of marriage partners are very infrequent.

If skilled males are assigned the same status rank as white-collar workers, the Norwood figures are validly described by the current generalization that "men 'marry down' more often than women"; in terms of the status-classification of the present study, however, there is no observable tendency for men to "marry down" more than women.<sup>21</sup> The percentage of all women "marrying down" was not significantly greater during the depression or recovery years than during the predepression period, nor was it greater than that of men. However, of the white-collar women who married "down", 20 percent more in 1933-37 than in 1923-28 married men at the bottom of the status scale; and conversely, the percentage of semiunskilled males marrying "up" rose (11 percent) from 1923-28 to 1933-37. During the depression and recovery years, skilled males constituted a significantly less proportion of the total males marrying than in predepression years.

How many of these statements are valid only for Norwood? How different is the marriage role of occupational status in other communities? How is occupational status related to the many other factors determining marriage choice? The answers to these questions, and to numerous others related to assortative mating, await further research.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, 150 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The percentage "marrying down" was slightly greater for professional than skilled males, but markedly less than skilled for white-collar males; it appears unlikely, therefore, that a community differing from Norwood only in having a generally higher male occupational status would exhibit the phenomenon of "men 'marrying down' more than women."



# MARRIAGE RATE AMONG WOMEN TEACHERS

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CONSIDERABLE has been said about marriage possibilities among women teachers, but few objective studies have been made of actual marriage rates among teachers of particular age groups, or of teacher marriage rates in comparison with rates for other vocational groups or for the total population. The present article deals with the marriage rate at specific ages, of white women teachers in a southern city having a 1930 population of over 300,000, and deals with certain economic and educational relationships of this marriage rate.

TABLE I. MARRIAGE RATES AT SPECIFIC AGES OF WHITE WOMEN TEACHERS IN A SOUTHERN CITY, COMPARED WITH MARRIAGE RATES FOR ALL NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NEW YORK STATE, EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY, 1930

Age	Marriages per Thousand Single Women of Given Ages <sup>1</sup>	
	Teachers in Southern City	New York State <sup>2</sup>
15-19 yrs.	— <sup>3</sup>	51.7
20-21	38.8	—
22-24	87.4	—
20-24	80.6	153.9
22-25	76.4	—
25-29	68.7	111.0
30-34	48.7	✓ 55.0
35-39	21.6	26.2
40 and over	9.1	6.6
Av. 20-39 yrs.	56.8	114.8
Av. 20 and over	40.6	80.0

<sup>1</sup> Never before married.

<sup>2</sup> Calculated from *Fifteenth Census of the United States (1930), Population*, Vol. II, "General Report, Statistics by States," Table 15, p. 870, and Table 26, p. 959; together with Thomas Parran Jr., State of New York, *Fifty-first Annual Report of the State Department of Health for the Year Ending December 31, 1930*, Vol. II, "Division of Vital Statistics," Table 50, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> The teachers under 20 years of age, fewer than ten, were omitted from the study.

*Marriage Rate of Teachers Compared with General Population.*—Data on marriage rate per thousand among women of particular ages who are getting married for their first time are not readily available from census or similar reports. However, in the annual reports on vital statistics of the departments of health of a few states, data are given on marriage by age groups as well as by race and nativity. For this study, the data used, as offering a sufficiently analytical classification, are from New York exclusive

of New York City. Data on single women of specific age groups were secured from the federal census. Since the white population of the southern city was only 3.4 percent foreign-born in 1930,<sup>1</sup> whereas that of New York state exclusive of New York City was 16.1 percent foreign-born,<sup>2</sup> only the native-born white population of New York state was used for comparison with the white teachers. Data concerning age and marriage of teachers were secured from teachers' individual record cards in the files of the city's board of education. Data comparing marriage rates by age for teachers with rates for native-born white women in New York.

Attention should be called to certain factors which could not be controlled in compiling the data and which therefore limit their value for comparisons. Thus, New York state, aside from New York City, includes considerable rural area, and women in rural areas and small cities tend to marry earlier than women in cities of 300,000 population. Part of this tendency, however, is offset by the fact that the city studied is in the South, where women tend to marry somewhat younger than in the nation as a whole. Moreover the data from New York state do not make it possible to include women who go outside the state to get married nor to exclude those who come into the state for that purpose. When New York City is excluded, to which metropolis perhaps numerous couples come to get married, the two foregoing items probably tend somewhat to balance each other. It should be noted that the school board in the city studied had a rule that a woman teacher must resign if she married,<sup>3</sup> which might tend to lessen the marriage rate.

Although the foregoing limitations are significant, they do not render the data completely valueless. Two major items regarding marriage rate are indicated by Table 1: (1) specific age rates for marriage among native white women teachers under a particular set of circumstances; and (2) the basis for a rough comparison of teachers with women of comparable race and nativity in the general population.

The table presents no data for teachers under twenty years of age. The training required by up-to-date school systems, together with depression influence on teacher employment and turnover, makes this point understandable, in that few teachers have in recent years entered the field before they were twenty years old. For teachers 20-29 years old, the marriage rate indicated is from one half to five eighths as high as for the general population. These ratios probably reflect a combination of factors concerning vocational status in relation to age at marriage such as hopes regarding standard of living and the school board's resignation rule.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from *Abstract of Fifteenth Census of the United States* (1930), Table 42, pp. 99-100.

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from *ibid.*, Table 42, pp. 99-100, and Table 30, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> During its 1937-38 session, the state legislature passed a law making it impossible for school boards subsequently to require women teachers to resign upon marrying. Research representatives of the city Department of Education stated that teachers feared the city Board would contest the law in the courts, and that accordingly the law did not increase the marriage rate during any part of the period studied.

Beyond the age of thirty years, there is much less difference in marriage rate among teachers and the general population than before that age. Thus, for teachers 30-39 years old, the rate is 80-90 percent as high and for teachers over 40 years the rate is 137.8 percent as high, as for the general population. At the later age level, of course, few women are getting married.

Comparison might here be made of marriage age among teachers and professional groups in general. From the 1910 census schedules, Notestein<sup>4</sup> made a study involving 1873 wives of professional men. In the pertinent section of his study, Notestein included only women of native white parentage who were under 40 years of age at the time of marriage, and only women who got married between April 16, 1900 and April 15, 1905, and who were living with their husbands at the census date in 1910. His data show<sup>5</sup> that the mean age of marriage for this group was 24.8 years, and that the mode was 23.5 years. Table 1 shows the marriage rate for teachers was highest at 22-24 years, quite similar to Notestein's figures.

It should be kept in mind that Notestein's data refer to wives of professional men, which probably means that in most cases the women had no professions of their own and probably in most cases were not trained for a profession. That would seem even more likely during the period 1900-1910 than today. If these women had received professional training comparable to that required in recent years of school teachers, they would probably have had a higher mean if not also a higher modal age at marriage. Thus, they would perhaps have been even more comparable to the teacher group regarding age at marriage than they were.

Since the Notestein data report social status by the socio-professional status of husband rather than by that of wife before her marriage, the value of the data for present comparison is limited. His data do not indicate the marriage rate by age of wife at marriage according to the premarital socio-professional status of wife. This is an important point which the present study attempts to investigate. It seems to indicate that because of training, administrative regulations, and other restrictions incident to the vocation, teachers during the early years of life marry at a lower rate than do women of comparable age and ethnic background in the general population, but that these factors gradually make less difference between the two groups as the women get older. A comparison of teachers with wives of professional men, which wives themselves probably have no professional training, shows considerable similarity of age at marriage among those who actually do marry. Available data do not permit comparisons between teachers and other women of professional background regarding the percentage which those marrying at specific ages are of the total group who were single at such ages and hence marriageable.

<sup>4</sup> Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1931, 37:22-48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Table IV, p. 36.

*Economic Depression and Teacher Marriage Rate.* It is generally accepted that adverse economic conditions reduce marriage rates, although the closeness with which the reduction follows upon downward economic trends may vary somewhat among occupational groups. Table 2 presents data from Stouffer and Spencer,<sup>6</sup> showing the relationship between economic conditions and marriage rates for the total population.

TABLE 2. MARRIAGES PER YEAR PER 1000 ESTIMATED FEMALE POPULATION  
15-44 YEARS OF AGE\*

Year	Marriage Rate	Year	Marriage Rate	Year	Marriage Rate	Year	Marriage Rate
1912-16	44.72	1921	46.18	1926	43.81	1931	35.91
1917	47.95	1922	44.21	1927	43.05	1932	32.93
1918	41.40	1923	47.11	1928	41.72	1933	36.47
1919	47.03	1924	44.62	1929	42.81	1934	42.84
1920	51.48	1925	44.01	1930	38.53	1935	43.25

\* Adapted from Table II, p. 58 of article cited.

In commenting on their data, Stouffer and Spencer show parallels between marriage rates and economic conditions before the war and from 1922 to the onset of the depression. They note a rise in rates during the years 1919-21, resulting from "catching up the slack" which accumulated during the war. In regard to the recent depression they state: "The marriage rate dropped in 1930, again in 1931, and hit the lowest point in the recorded history of marriage in the United States in 1932. At some time in 1932 or early in 1933, the tide turned."<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 3. ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND TEACHER MARRIAGE RATE,  
BY TEACHER AGE AND DEPRESSION YEAR

Teacher Age	Depression Years					
	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
20-24	33.3	35.7	110.0	120.0	90.9	136.4
25-29	41.4	39.3	80.8	104.2	70.0	85.7
30-34	35.3	22.2	36.8	60.0	61.9	71.4
35-39	9.1	0.0	8.3	38.5	30.8	35.7
40 and over	9.4	9.1	8.8	11.4	8.1	7.9
Average	26.2	22.1	42.6	56.9	43.1	53.3

Depression influences on marriage rates among teachers appear to be similar to those for the general population. Data for the teacher group, according to year and to age of teacher, appear in Table 3.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, November 1936, 188:56-69.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.



General comparison of the data for 1932 and 1933 with the data for 1934 and 1935 shows depression influences on marriage rate among teachers. Minor irregularities appear in the data for certain age groups, but the trend is apparent, as is indicated by the averages. The recession in teacher marriage rates for 1936 may result at least in part from the "catching up" factor, which Stouffer and Spencer mentioned regarding their data following 1919-21. On the whole, marriage rates for the younger teachers appear more sensitive to economic conditions than rates for older teachers. This seems reasonable in view of a possible slight accumulation of resources among older groups as compared with younger ones, as well as perhaps greater sensitivity on the part of older groups to declining eligibility.

In comparing the teacher data with the data of Stouffer and Spencer, it might be noted that the teacher rate did not begin to increase with economic recovery as soon as did the rate for the general population. A closer comparison of rates for the two groups, with certain indices of economic conditions during the depression years, may be helpful at this point. For present purposes, total national income and total compensation paid employees will be used as economic indices. The data appear in Table 4.

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF MARRIAGE RATES IN THE GENERAL POPULATION AND AMONG WOMEN TEACHERS WITH ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AS MEASURED BY NATIONAL INCOME AND BY COMPENSATION OF EMPLOYEES

Year	Marriage Rate		Economic Conditions	
	Total Population (From Table 2)	Teachers (Averages— Table 3)	Total National <sup>1</sup> Income (In Billion Dollars)	Total Compensation <sup>2</sup> of Employees (Index Members)
1929	42.81	—	81.1	100
1930	38.53	—	68.3	—
1931	35.91	—	53.8	—
1932	32.93	26.2	40.0	60.8
1933	36.47	22.1	42.3	57.5
1934	42.84	42.6	50.1	66.1
1935	43.25	56.9	55.2	71.2
1936	—	43.1	63.5	81.4
1937	—	53.3	69.8	90.7

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from "Our National Income," *The New York Times*, Sunday January 1, 1939, section IV, 7: 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Total Compensation of Employees by Industrial Groups, 1929-37." (Includes salaries, wages, work relief wages, compensation for injuries, pensions granted under private plans, and contributions of employees to Social Security.) *The World Almanac*, 1939, 54: 186.

The table shows that the low in marriage rate for the total population and the low in national income came in the same year—1932, and that the low for teachers and the low for compensation of employees came in the same year—1933, but that the low for the second pair of compared items

came a year later than the low for the first pair. This suggests that in decline as well as in recovery, salaries and wages lag somewhat behind economic changes for the country as a whole. Such lag is readily understandable in the case of teachers, where salary schedules are agreed upon for a considerable time in advance—usually for the school year which follows the date of beginning work. The data for marriage rate in the total population do not cover a sufficient number of recent years to indicate whether there may have been a lull in rate after catching up from depression marriage shortage, as was earlier suggested in regard to the teacher rates. It should be noted from Table 4 that there was no recession in economic recovery to account for the recession in teacher marriage rate in 1936.

*Depression, Marriage Rate, and Average Age of Teachers.* The foregoing comments regarding depression in relation to marriage rate, suggests that with a decline during periods of economic adversity in teacher retirement through marriage, there would be an increase in average age among single women teachers. The data of Table 5 bear on this point.

TABLE 5. ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND AGE CHANGE AMONG SINGLE WOMEN TEACHERS

Age Group	Percent by Age Group for the Different Years					
	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
20-24	17.0	18.0	9.8	10.0	10.3	10.1
25-29	26.8	25.3	26.0	23.1	19.7	19.8
30-34	16.0	16.6	18.6	20.0	20.7	20.2
35-39	9.8	10.3	11.8	12.6	13.0	13.3
40 and over	30.4	29.8	33.8	34.3	36.3	36.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As one moves across the table from left to right, there is a noticeable decline from 1932 to 1937 in the percentage which teachers under 30 years of age constitute of the entire teaching group. All three groups 30 years old and over show a corresponding increase.

It should be kept in mind that decline in marriage rate is not the only factor affecting average age of single teachers. An increased amount of training before entering the profession means that persons are normally older when they begin teaching than is true where only meager training is required. Moreover, adverse economic conditions mean that fewer teachers leave the profession during comparatively early years of service to pursue other gainful employment. In some school systems, tenure might also be a significant factor in increasing average age of teacher, since tenure tends to reduce teacher turnover and the coming in of new teachers. Married women continuing to teach would raise the average age among women teachers by reducing the new entries into the field.

Various questions could be raised concerning the social and pedagogical significance of an increased average age among teachers, depending on whether the increase results from an accumulation of old teachers, or from a larger percentage in the middle age groups in comparison with the younger groups. A nonpedagogical question relates to the possibility of younger people securing jobs and, accordingly, to the social distribution of available employment. In the past, this question has been perhaps most pointedly raised in regard to married women continuing to teach. From the pedagogical standpoint, older teachers might be better acquainted than younger ones with subject matter and the handling of pupils, although this is by no means universal. Much depends on the date as well as on the scope and character of their training. Age of teacher might be related to teacher-pupil rapport, to understanding present-day nonschool adjustments of children and youth, or to other aspects of emotional development of pupils. Possible types of age influence such as here noted suggest a possible depression significance of proposed retirement programs which is not wholly economic.

*Summary.* Certain summary statements may be in order.

1. For native white teachers in the southern city studied, the marriage rate among women 20-29 years old was one half to five eighths as high as among native white women of comparable age in the general population of New York state, exclusive of New York City. Among the factors making for a lower rate among the teachers than among the compared group are: educational requirements; hopes and ambitions regarding social status; and a board rule requiring resignation upon marriage.

2. With increasing age, less difference appeared in marriage rate among teachers in comparison with the general population. At 40 years or over, the rate was higher for teachers than for the general population.

3. The modal age for marriage among teachers was about the same as that found by Notestein from 1910 census data among professional men's wives, most of whom were probably not themselves professionally trained.

4. Economic depression seems to reduce marriage rate among teachers, particularly in the younger age groups. The teacher group seems much like the general population, although it may lag somewhat behind the general population in reflecting changes in economic conditions.

5. Decline of marriage rates among women teachers during economic depression seems a factor in increasing the average age of women teachers, although the possibility of continuing to teach after marriage as well as length of training period and other factors are important in this connection.

# FAMILY ATTITUDES OF DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1929 AND 1936\*

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**S**OCIOLOGICAL and popular interest in the study of attitudes toward sex, marriage, and family behavior goes on apparently unabated.<sup>1</sup> The continued efforts of sociologists and psychologists to describe such attitudes scientifically, as well as the popular articles of journalists and public opinion analysts suggest that our culture does not have a more sensitive barometer than the mores, folkways, and values relating to sex, and that investigation in this field may furnish clues to cultural change.

The present paper reports a portion of a study which, like numerous others in this field, utilized data obtained from college students, but which allowed certain types of comparisons not possible, so far as the writer knows, in other studies. A study of college and university students' ideals of marriage and family life was first made in 1929 as a part of a larger study of population mobility. A questionnaire, the pertinent portions of which are herewith given,<sup>2</sup> was presented to the entire student body of each of two small denominational colleges (one Presbyterian and one Methodist Episcopal) in Iowa and to some two hundred students in the sociology classes at the University of Iowa. In 1936, those phases of the study here reported were repeated with the corresponding student groups currently enrolled, the cross-sectional pictures thus obtained presumably furnishing certain

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<sup>1</sup> Among the most recent studies reported are: Theodore Newcomb, "Recent Changes in Attitudes Toward Sex and Marriage," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct. 1937, 659-667; Joseph K. Folsom, "Changing Values in Sex and Family Relations," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct. 1937, 717-726; William S. Bernard, "Student Attitudes on Marriage and the Family," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1938, 354-361; R. E. Baber, "Some Mate Selection Standards of College Students and Their Parents," *J. Soc. Hyg.*, March 1936, 115-125; Henry F. Pringle, "What Do the Women of America Think?" *Ladies' Home J.*, Feb. 1938, *et seq.*; R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, chap. 4, New York, 1937; and Dorothy Dunbar Bromley and Florence Haxton Britten, *Youth and Sex*, New York, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Are you married? . . .

When circumstances permit, do you intend to marry? (Answer yes or no.) . . .

Underscore the number of sons and daughters that you think would make an ideal family with respect to size at the present time.

Sons: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Daughters: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

If you are favorable to marriage fill out the table below indicating the relative importance you attach to the qualities of a prospective mate. For example, if you consider honesty the most desirable quality of a mate, mark it 1. If you consider education of next importance, mark it 2, and so on throughout the list.



clues to the degree and direction of social change both on the college campus and in the wider culture.

The analysis of these data made possible three types of comparison: (1) that between men and women students; (2) that between denominational college and university students; and (3) that between attitudes current in 1929 and those current in 1936.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 1. NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS INTENDING TO MARRY, 1929 AND 1936

Classes of Students	1929			1936		
	Number Unmarried Students Answering	Intending to Marry		Number Unmarried Students Answering	Intending to Marry	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
College men	417*	378	90.64	261	251	96.16
University men	108	96	88.88	88	82	93.18
College women	525*	489	93.14	261	260	99.61
University women	104	94	90.38	149	142	95.35

\* Includes students of a third small denominational college surveyed in original study.

It may be seen from Table 1: (1) college students, both men and women, look upon marriage more favorably than do university students; (2) women, both college and university women, look upon marriage more favorably

Men mark this list:

Ability to make a good impression socially  
 Ability to keep house  
 Abstinence from use of liquor  
 Abstinence from use of tobacco  
 Ambition  
 Beauty  
 Disposition  
 Education  
 Family connections  
 Health  
 Honesty  
 Mutual intellectual interests  
 Mutual recreational interests  
 Natural mental ability  
 Personal appearance  
 Prominence  
 Religious attitude  
 Sex attraction  
 Sex purity  
 Wealth  
 Willingness to rear family

Women mark this list:

Ability to make a good impression socially  
 Ability in business  
 Abstinence from use of liquor  
 Abstinence from use of tobacco  
 Ambition  
 Handsomeness  
 Disposition  
 Education  
 Family connections  
 Health  
 Honesty  
 Mutual intellectual interests  
 Mutual recreational interests  
 Natural mental ability  
 Personal appearance  
 Prominence  
 Religious attitude  
 Sex attraction  
 Sex purity  
 Wealth  
 Willingness to rear family

<sup>3</sup> Richard T. LaPiere, "The Sociological Significance of Measurable Attitudes," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1938, 175-182, seems to state the methodological implications maintained throughout this study, when he says, in effect, that what the so-called attitude studies have actually done is not to measure attitudes, but rather to indicate the subjects' ideologies.

than do men; (3) from 1929 to 1936 there was a noticeable increase among all students, but particularly among women, in the percentage of those favoring marriage.

A question that may here be raised is whether the depression may have made people more cognizant of the values of family life, women seeing in marriage a degree of security not obtainable in the outside world, and men, in spite of the increased financial insecurity implied in marriage for them, balancing the satisfactions of marriage against its disadvantages. Another possibility is, of course, that people who in 1929 looked reluctantly on marriage may by 1936 have been succeeded by a group who recognize the comparative ease with which marriage ties may be broken if they prove too annoying, or the capacity of contraception to mitigate the economic problems involved in rearing a family.

TABLE 2. TOTAL AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY DESIRED BY COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1929 AND 1936

Classes of Students	Number Students Answering	Total Children Desired		Total Boys Desired		Total Girls Desired	
		Num- ber	Av. per Student	Num- ber	Av. per Student	Num- ber	Av. per Student
College men, 1929	307	963	3.13	550	1.79	413	1.34
University men, 1929	110	372	3.38	219	1.99	153	1.39
Total men, 1929	417	1335	3.20	769	1.84	566	1.35
College women, 1929	426	1287	3.02	656	1.53	631	1.48
University women, 1929	105	315	3.00	173	1.64	142	1.35
Total women, 1929	531	1602	3.01	829	1.56	773	1.45
College men, 1936	250	756	3.02	446	1.78	310	1.24
University men, 1936	78	241	3.08	137	1.75	104	1.33
Total men, 1936	328	997	3.03	583	1.77	414	1.26
College women, 1936	254	757	2.98	385	1.51	372	1.46
University women, 1936	135	411	3.04	225	1.66	186	1.37
Total women, 1936	389	1168	3.00	610	1.56	558	1.43

Table 2 indicates: (1) a somewhat greater desire for children among university than among college students; (2) that men desire somewhat larger families than do women, though the differences would seem in general to have decreased since 1929; (3) that male offspring is preferable to female, especially among prospective fathers; (4) that if the desires expressed actually eventuate, a further decline in the birth rate is portended.

It is probable that the middle class attitude of sacrifice of family (though not of marriage itself) in order to climb the economic ladder may characterize the college students' culture more than that of the university students. Some such "culture shock" explanation would seem at least tenable in the light of the religious compulsions, almost certainly more impelling in the college than in the university group, that would presumably operate in the direction of more offspring.

The study not only verifies the popular belief in the preference for boys rather than girls but also indicates that it is increasing,—the men, in 1929, desiring 57 percent male offspring, and, in 1936, 59 percent, and the women, in 1929, 51 percent and, in 1936, 52 percent.

The expressed desires with regard to ideal family size portend, at least in the case of the men, a continued decline in the birth rate. The number of children desired averaged 3.20 per man in 1929, but only 3.03 in 1936, suggesting that, should these desires become actualities, 1000 men of the 1936 college generation will father only 3030 children, as compared to 3200 children fathered by 1000 men of the 1929 college generation. This marked decline brings the number of children desired by men down to approximately the same number desired by women,—an average of 3.03 and 3.00 respectively. It seems very possible that the philoprogenitive urge in the male is giving way to economic necessity.

Two other observations from the study also presage a continued decline in the birth rate. (1) In 1929, only 0.96 percent of all students intending to marry expressed a desire for a childless marriage; in 1936, 1.67 percent expressed such a desire. (2) The distribution of the students indicating the number of children desired was, in 1929, definitely bimodal; 30.98 percent expressed a desire for two children and 33.11 percent expressed a desire for four children. (Those expressing a desire for three children constituted 24.67 percent.) In 1936, however, the mode was two children,—33.98 percent of the students expressing a desire for a family of this size. A desire for three children was expressed by 29.66 percent of the students, and a desire for four children was expressed by 27.99. The trend toward the two-child family as the modal size becomes evident.

There are, in addition, some interesting observations concerning the "size-sex patterns" of the families favored by the men and those favored by the women students. The 1936 figures will suffice for illustration. The two sons-one daughter combination was favored by 34.95 percent of the men students, the one son-one daughter combination by 27.35 percent, and the two sons-two daughters combination by 20.66 percent. The most popular combination among the women, on the other hand, was one son-one daughter, 36.24 percent favoring this "size-sex pattern." The two sons-two daughters combination was favored by 33.41 percent of the women, but the two sons-one daughter combination was favored by only 16.19 percent. Women (69.65 percent of the total) are seen to favor families evenly divided as to sex, but the strong desire among the men for male offspring accounts for so considerable a preference on their part for the two sons-one daughter pattern as to make it the modal combination. As might be expected, furthermore, very few students favored a pattern consisting of more daughters than sons, and of those who did, the great majority were women.

We may next turn to a consideration of those traits deemed desirable in

a prospective mate. Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6 present the ranking of these traits among each of the student classes.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE-RANK AND COMPARATIVE RANK OF MATE TRAITS  
DESIRED BY UNIVERSITY MEN, 1929 AND 1936

1929 (110 Men)			1936 (78 Men)		
Percent- age-Rank Index*	Rank	Trait	Percent- age-Rank Index*	Rank	Trait
2.31	1	Health	1.99	1	Disposition
2.78	2	Disposition	2.60	2	Honesty
3.04	3	Education	2.66	3	Health
3.40	4	Honesty	2.80	4	Mutual intellect. ints.
3.75	5	Mutual intellect. ints.	3.17	5	Education
3.77	6	Personal appearance	3.40	6	Personal appearance
4.08	7	Beauty	3.68	7	Natural mental ability
4.27	8	Ambition	3.95	8	Ambition
4.49	9	Sex purity	4.38	9	Beauty
4.52	10	Ability to keep house	4.61	10	Sex purity
4.79	11	Ability to impress socially	4.77	11	Mutual recreational ints.
4.79	11	Natural mental ability	4.99	12	Ability to impress socially
4.80	13	Sex attraction	5.17	13	Sex attraction
4.98	14	Mutual recreational ints.	5.35	14	Ability to keep house
5.73	15	Willingness to rear family	5.39	15	Willingness to rear family
6.10	16	Abstinence from liquor	5.96	16	Religious attitude
6.30	17	Religious attitude	6.70	17	Prominence
6.32	18	Wealth	6.73	18	Family connections
6.35	19	Prominence	6.73	18	Abstinence from liquor
6.43	20	Family connections	7.21	20	Wealth
6.91	21	Abstinence from tobacco	7.64	21	Abstinence from tobacco
100.00%			100.00%		

\* Percentage-Rank Index =  $\frac{\text{Sum of the ranks for each trait}}{\text{Sum of the ranks for all traits}} \times 100$ . Differences between fig-

ures may be regarded as distances.

<sup>4</sup> The tables present not only the *series* of ranks (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.), but also what may be called a *Percentage-Rank Index*. The series ranking was obtained by allotting first place to that trait which received the lowest sum of the individual ranks as given by each student answering the questionnaire, second place to that trait which received the next lowest sum, and so on. The Percentage-Rank Index was obtained by calculating the ratio between the sum of the ranks for each trait and the sum of the ranks for all the traits. Thus, in the case of the university men in 1929, health received the lowest number of points, 643, and so ranked first. The total points received by the twenty-one traits was 27,775. The Percentage-Rank Index of health was, therefore, 2.31, i.e.,  $643/27,775 \times 100$ . The usefulness of such figures lies not in their being measures of attitude itself or of the evaluation of the trait involved, but in the fact that the differences between the indices may be regarded as *distances* showing the margin by which the various traits acquired the series ranks they hold. The Percentage-Rank Indices placed in order also give a better indication of the *agreement* among the students in a group than does the series of ranks alone.

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*1. College and University Differences: Men.* Among both college and university men, health, disposition, honesty, and education were so consistently ranked at the top that they may be thought of as a cluster of minimum requirements for a prospective mate. Mutual intellectual interests belong in this same category for university men, and college men have markedly increased their evaluation of both mutual intellectual interests and education since 1929 (See Table 4).

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE-RANK AND COMPARATIVE RANK OF MATE TRAITS  
DESIRED BY COLLEGE MEN, 1929 AND 1936

1929 (307 Men)			1936 (250 Men)		
Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait	Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait
2.37	1	Health	2.34	1	Health
2.60	2	Honesty	2.53	2	Disposition
2.73	3	Disposition	2.57	3	Honesty
3.31	4	Sex purity	2.95	4	Education
3.45	5	Education	3.85	5	Natural mental ability
4.00	6	Ambition	3.98	6	Mutual intellect. ints.
4.11	7	Personal appearance	4.00	7	Personal appearance
4.35	8	Religious attitude	4.13	8	Ambition
4.55	9	Natural mental ability	4.41	9	Sex purity
4.63	10	Mutual intellect. ints.	4.61	10	Abstinence from liquor
4.65	11	Beauty	4.83	11	Religious attitude
4.65	11	Ability to keep house	5.00	12	Ability to keep house
5.19	13	Abstinence from liquor	5.14	13	Mutual recreational ints.
5.27	14	Willingness to rear family	5.32	14	Beauty
5.43	15	Mutual recreational ints.	5.57	15	Ability to impress socially
5.71	16	Abstinence from tobacco	5.57	15	Abstinence from tobacco
5.77	17	Sex attraction	5.78	17	Willingness to rear family
6.02	18	Ability to impress socially	6.08	18	Sex attraction
6.91	19	Family connections	6.70	19	Family connections
6.93	20	Prominence	7.14	20	Prominence
7.26	21	Wealth	7.41	21	Wealth
100.00%			100.00%		

The rankings accorded sex purity and religious attitude very strongly reflect traditional values. The same is true, though probably to a lesser degree, of abstinence from liquor and tobacco. College men are notably more conservative than university men at all these points, their attitudes reflecting the differences in folkways and mores not only of the college and university, but also of the constituencies of the two types of institution. College men deemed sex purity a sufficiently desirable trait to place it, in 1929, in the cluster of minimum requirements just mentioned.

Sex attraction, on the other hand, was rated very definitely and consistently higher by university than by college men. There is, in fact, an

interesting inverse relationship between the valuation of sex purity and that of sex attraction, which reflects the commonly recognized moralistic attitude of our culture concerning sex matters; the more worth is placed on sex for its own sake, the less do men insist on strict adherence to traditional moral codes.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE-RANK AND COMPARATIVE RANK OF MATE TRAITS DESIRED BY UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1929 AND 1936

1929 (105 Women)			1936 (135 Women)		
Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait	Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait
2.19	1	Health	1.96	1	Ambition
2.60	2	Education	2.26	2	Disposition
2.65	3	Ambition	2.40	3	Honesty
2.66	4	Honesty	2.53	4	Health
2.97	5	Personal appearance	2.79	5	Education
3.04	6	Disposition	3.29	6	Mutual intellect. ints.
3.31	7	Natural mental ability	3.29	6	Ability in business
3.36	8	Ability in business	3.59	8	Natural mental ability
4.02	9	Mutual intellect. ints.	3.82	9	Personal appearance
4.39	10	Sex purity	4.21	10	Mutual recreational ints.
4.74	11	Mutual recreational ints.	5.41	11	Ability to impress socially
5.37	12	Abstinence from liquor	5.45	12	Sex purity
5.66	13	Family connections	5.64	13	Religious attitude
5.78	14	Religious attitude	5.85	14	Abstinence from liquor
5.80	15	Ability to impress socially	5.98	15	Willingness to rear family
6.35	16	Wealth	6.08	16	Sex attraction
6.48	17	Prominence	6.20	17	Family connections
6.68	18	Sex attraction	6.64	18	Wealth
6.73	19	Willingness to rear family	6.83	19	Prominence
7.39	20	Handsome ness	7.35	20	Handsome ness
7.73	21	Abstinence from tobacco	8.33	21	Abstinence from tobacco
100.00%			100.00%		

In contrast to this group of traditional virtues, that group of traits, such as personal appearance, beauty, and ability to make a good social impression (sex attraction might well be included here also), which indicate one's personal and social attractiveness, are strikingly more in demand at university than at college.

The difference in the rating of these groups of traits is probably indicative of the primary group and secondary group relationships that characterize in general the denominational college and the university respectively. The college campus suggests the small town, the seat of traditional mores, more or less complete knowledge by each inhabitant of all the other inhabitants, and personal evaluations in terms of fundamental attitudes. The university campus, on the other hand, suggests the urban community,

with its touch-and-go relationships, multiplicity of stimuli, and hasty evaluations by outward conventional signs, i.e., appearance and manners.

Wealth, prominence, and family connections constitute a group of traits that may be looked upon as suggesting established status and prestige. It is possible that in the secondary group atmosphere of the university,

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE-RANK AND COMPARATIVE RANK OF MATE TRAITS  
DESIRED BY COLLEGE WOMEN, 1929 AND 1936

1929 (426 Women)			1936 (254 Women)		
Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait	Percent- age-Rank Index	Rank	Trait
1.70	1	Honesty	1.93	1	Honesty
2.09	2	Health	2.50	2	Ambition
2.57	3	Ambition	2.53	3	Disposition
2.92	4	Disposition	2.56	4	Health
3.30	5	Education	2.87	5	Education
3.63	6	Ability in business	3.49	6	Ability in business
3.85	7	Sex purity	3.73	7	Natural mental ability
4.04	8	Religious attitude	3.85	8	Abstinence from liquor
4.05	9	Abstinence from liquor	3.87	9	Mutual intellect. ints.
4.11	10	Natural mental ability	4.42	10	Sex purity
4.65	11	Mutual intellect. ints.	4.47	11	Personal appearance
5.08	12	Personal appearance	4.63	12	Religious attitude
5.33	13	Family connections	5.04	13	Mutual recreational ints.
5.43	14	Mutual recreational ints.	5.85	14	Ability to impress socially
6.30	15	Willingness to rear family	6.31	15	Willingness to rear family
6.35	16	Ability to impress socially	6.34	16	Family connections
6.67	17	Wealth	6.89	17	Prominence
6.68	18	Abstinence from tobacco	6.92	18	Sex attraction
6.70	19	Prominence	7.01	19	Abstinence from tobacco
6.99	20	Sex attraction	7.24	20	Wealth
7.47	21	Handsome ness	7.46	21	Handsome ness
100.00%			100.00%		

these traits are valued to a certain extent, and are therefore ranked a little higher by university than by college students. In general, however, they appear to be relatively unimportant for both groups, a fact that undoubtedly reflects the assumed democracy and equal opportunity of American society. The success pattern of our culture assumes that we "get ahead" not by depending upon the established status of our families or of our social position, but by acquiring a status from the successful manipulation of our own abilities, initiative, and personal qualities.

Mutual recreational interests rank appreciably higher at the university than at the colleges; but ambition, housekeeping ability, and willingness to rear a family show no differences among the college and university men that would warrant generalizations as to their relative importance.

2. *College and University Differences: Women.* Among the women students, as among the men, there seems to be a cluster of traits constituting the minimum requirements of a prospective mate. In addition to health, honesty, disposition, and education—the high-ranking traits among the men—the women recognized ambition as a very desirable trait in the partner who, according to the assumptions of the culture, must make the living. In their demand for these basic qualifications, college and university women showed no striking differences.

Sex purity, religious attitude, and abstinence from liquor and tobacco ranked definitely higher, and willingness to rear a family was a bit more in demand, at the colleges. University women made more demand for intellectual qualities—mutual intellectual interests and natural mental ability. Likewise, they consistently and noticeably favored the traits predisposing to successful social intercourse and acquired status—personal appearance, ability to make a good social impression, handsomeness, and sex attraction—as well as mutual recreational interests. They ranked wealth, prominence, and family connections somewhat higher than did the college women. The inverse relationship between the rankings of sex purity and sex attraction, noted in the case of the men, holds true in general of the women also, though the correlation is not so pronounced.

3. *Sex Differences.* Major sex differences were revealed in the high ranking given ambition and ability in business by the women, and that given sex purity, sex attraction, personal appearance, and beauty by the men. The high male evaluation of sex purity in a prospective mate indicates the persistence of the double standard; and the high male evaluation of sex attraction, personal appearance, and beauty indicates the ornamental role for women, in contrast to the utilitarian role for men, current in our culture.

Women demanded somewhat more in the way of education, natural mental ability, and that class of traits—wealth, prominence, and family connections—which pertain to established status. Each of these, it may be noted, is a trait which can call forth a certain degree of respect on the part of a wife for her husband. Since it is undoubtedly culturally more appropriate for men to marry beneath their social status than for women to do so, such traits loom relatively large in the estimation of women. A man's stock in trade in competitive mate-seeking consists of those traits that reflect his status already acquired or his ability to succeed by his own efforts (ambition, business ability, etc.); while a woman's stock in trade consists of her personally attractive qualities (beauty, sex attraction, etc.), which are thought to be independent of established status. A man tends to think he can "succeed" without the advantages which established status confers; a woman generally "succeeds" in her own eyes when she has captured a husband, and, in the eyes of her husband, when she arouses the envy of his friends by her beauty or appearance.



The consistent sex differences in the rating of disposition also indicate that affectionate behavior by men, so pronounced that it endangers the work and success role of the male, is frowned upon, but that men have approved the wife's defined role as the provider of a tranquil refuge from the strenuous affairs of life. The higher rating given mutual recreational interests by women may possibly mean a bid for more equality in the world of men, since, in the past, a great many of men's and women's amusements have shown little overlapping; or possibly it means a recognition that marital happiness might more easily be achieved by paying attention to the time mates might spend together (leisure) rather than to the time they almost necessarily spend apart (work).

Women were relatively more insistent than men upon abstinence from liquor (though not from tobacco), and upon religious attitude and willingness to rear a family. The indications are that traditional forces still operate on the denominational college campus sufficiently to subject the tobacco-using girl to considerable disapproval. It might be supposed that abstinence from liquor would rank higher, especially among the men, than it actually does. Very probably, however, the use of liquor by their prospective wives had not, at least in 1929, occurred to most men students as a matter they might actually have to face. Women had been conditioned to the idea of the drinking man, and would probably try to avoid anything suggesting the "drunken husband" social type. The drinking wife as a social type, on the other hand, has not yet been culturally defined to a degree sufficient to impress men with the threat of her presence. The expected college-university differences do apparently obtain.

4. *Changes Between 1929 and 1936.* In general, the top places in both years were held by health, honesty, disposition, education, mutual intellectual interests, and, in the case of the women, ambition, which rose slightly from 1929 to 1936. The rather consistent rise in all groups of disposition, mutual recreational interests, and perhaps that of mutual intellectual interests probably indicates a growing emphasis on companionship in family relations.

The striking rise in the value of natural mental ability, especially among the men, and in that of mutual intellectual interests would seem to indicate a more serious intellectual purpose among the 1936 students.

The traditional virtues of sex purity and religious attitude, on the other hand, have suffered a decided slump. College students, both men and women, ranked sex purity in 1936 at just about the point where university students ranked it in 1929; and though college men were still more insistent than university men upon religious attitude, college women and university women were by 1936 giving it about an equal ranking. There are here certain indications that, if these are matters of cultural diffusion, the college

in some attitudinal matters lags only a few years behind the university.<sup>5</sup>

Sex attraction was devalued slightly by the men, but was raised in value decidedly by the women. It is probable that by 1936 men had more or less solved the problem of evaluating sex attraction (whereas they were still, at least at the colleges, in a state of confusion regarding the evaluation of drinking by women). Women, however, much more hampered in throwing off moral taboos, are still in process of evaluating sex attraction, but are apparently finding it more appealing.

In spite of certain variations, it is probably safe to make the generalization that the other traits reflecting personal and social attractiveness were somewhat more favored in 1936 than in 1929, and that the traits indicative of established status were somewhat less favored. Housekeeping ability was devalued by the men, while the corresponding trait, ability in business, was raised in value by the women. Willingness to rear a family was definitely devalued by the men, a trend which corroborates their expressed desires for fewer children.

Social changes, particularly those having to do with the mores and with conservative attitudes, are probably more significant than might at first be presumed. The acceptance, even in slight degree, of attitudes formerly tabooed is capable of producing marked repercussions in the larger culture. The following trends noticeable to a greater or lesser degree in this study are of precisely this nature: a growing indifference to sex purity; a decline in religious interest; the lifting of taboos among women on sex attraction; the unsettled, confused point of view with regard to the use of liquor by women; a devaluation by men of the housekeeping role of women; an expressed desire for fewer children on the part of a class which is generally cognizant of the techniques of contraception and therefore is in a very favorable position for translating its wishes into reality.

<sup>5</sup> Numerous studies in religious education have pointed out that many state universities have the advantage of well organized religious programs, provided by the various denominations or interdenominationally, and presided over by extremely able religious leaders. It is said that a marked increase of recruits for the ministry and for missions can be noted. See Luther A. Weigle, "The Church Follows Its Students," *Christian Ed.*, June 1938, 262-266. The fact that religious attitude was, in the present study, slightly raised in value by the university students between 1929 and 1936 and markedly devalued by the denominational college students may furnish corroborative evidence. See R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *op. cit.*, chap. 8.

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## THE SOCIOLOGY OF PARENT-YOUTH CONFLICT\*

KINGSLEY DAVIS

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IT is in sociological terms that this paper attempts to frame and solve the sole question with which it deals, namely: Why does contemporary western civilization manifest an extraordinary amount of parent-adolescent conflict?<sup>1</sup> In other cultures, the outstanding fact is generally not the rebelliousness of youth, but its docility. There is practically no custom, no matter how tedious or painful, to which youth in primitive tribes or archaic civilizations will not willingly submit.<sup>2</sup> What, then, are the peculiar features of our society which give us one of the extremest examples of endemic filial friction in human history?

Our answer to this question makes use of constants and variables, the constants being the universal factors in the parent-youth relation, the variables being the factors which differ from one society to another. Though one's attention, in explaining the parent-youth relations of a given milieu, is focused on the variables, one cannot comprehend the action of the variables without also understanding the constants, for the latter constitute the structural and functional basis of the family as a part of society.

*The Rate of Social Change.* The first important variable is the rate of social change. Extremely rapid change in modern civilization, in contrast to most societies, tends to increase parent-youth conflict, for within a fast-changing social order the time-interval between generations, ordinarily but a mere moment in the life of a social system, become historically significant, thereby creating a hiatus between one generation and the next. Inevitably, under such a condition, youth is reared in a milieu different from that of the parents; hence the parents become old-fashioned, youth rebellious, and clashes occur which, in the closely confined circle of the immediate family, generate sharp emotion.

\* Presented to the American Sociological Society, Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1939.

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of statistical evidence, exaggeration of the conflict is easily possible, and two able students have warned against it. E. B. Reuter, "The Sociology of Adolescence," and Jessie R. Runner, "Social Distance in Adolescent Relationships," both in *Amer. J. Sociol.*, November 1937, 43: 415-16, 437. Yet sufficient nonquantitative evidence lies at hand in the form of personal experience, the outpour of literature on adolescent problems, and the historical and anthropological accounts of contrasting societies to justify the conclusion that in comparison with other cultures ours exhibits an exceptional amount of such conflict. If this paper seems to stress conflict, it is simply because we are concerned with this problem rather than with parent-youth harmony.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nathan Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society*, New York, 1928; Miriam Van Waters, "The Adolescent Girl Among Primitive Peoples," *J. Relig. Psychol.*, 1913, 6: 375-421 (1913) and 7: 75-120 (1914); Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York, 1928 and "Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society," 169-188, in *The New Generation* (ed. by V. F. Calverton and S. Schmalhausen, New York, 1930; A. M. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, New York and Boston, 1891 and 1902.

That rapidity of change is a significant variable can be demonstrated by three lines of evidence: a comparison of stable and nonstable societies;<sup>3</sup> a consideration of immigrant families; and an analysis of revolutionary epochs. If, for example, the conflict is sharper in the immigrant household, this can be due to one thing only, that the immigrant family generally undergoes the most rapid social change of any type of family in a given society. Similarly, a revolution (an abrupt form of societal alteration), by concentrating great change in a short span, catapults the younger generation into power—a generation which has absorbed and pushed the new ideas, acquired the habit of force, and which, accordingly, dominates those hangovers from the old regime, its parents.<sup>4</sup>

*The Birth-Cycle, Decelerating Socialization, and Parent-Child Differences.* Note, however, that rapid social change would have no power to produce conflict were it not for two universal factors: first, the family's duration; and second, the decelerating rate of socialization in the development of personality. "A family" is not a static entity but a process in time, a process ordinarily so brief compared with historical time that it is unimportant, but which, when history is "full" (i.e., marked by rapid social change), strongly influences the mutual adjustment of the generations. This "span" is basically the birth-cycle—the length of time between the birth of one person and his procreation of another. It is biological and inescapable. It would, however, have no effect in producing parent-youth conflict, even with social change, if it were not for the additional fact, intimately related and equally universal, that the sequential development of personality involves a constantly decelerating rate of socialization. This deceleration is due both to organic factors (age—which ties it to the birth-cycle) and to social factors (the cumulative character of social experience). Its effect is to make the birth-cycle interval, which is the period of youth, the time of major socialization, subsequent periods of socialization being subsidiary.

Given these constant features, rapid social change creates conflict because to the intrinsic (universal, inescapable) differences between parents and children it adds an extrinsic (variable) difference derived from the acquisition, at the same stage of life, of differential cultural content by each successive generation. Not only are parent and child, at any given moment, in different stages of development, but the content which the parent acquired at the stage where the child now is, was a different content from that which the child is now acquiring. Since the parent is supposed to socialize the child, he tends to apply the erstwhile but now inappropriate content

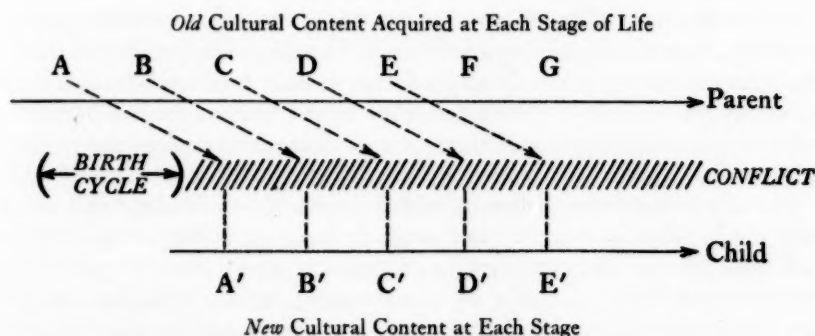
<sup>3</sup> Partially done by Mead and Van Waters in the works cited above.

<sup>4</sup> Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany are examples. See Sigmund Neumann, "The Conflict of Generations in Contemporary Europe from Versailles to Munich," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, August 1, 1939, 5: 623-28. Parents in these countries are to be obeyed only so long as they profess the "correct" (i.e., youthful, revolutionary) ideas.



(see Diagram). He makes this mistake, and cannot remedy it, because, due to the logic of personality growth, his basic orientation was formed by the experiences of his own childhood. He cannot "modernize" his point of view, because *he* is the product of those experiences. He can change in superficial ways, such as learning a new tune, but he cannot change (or *want* to change) the initial modes of thinking upon which his subsequent social experience has been built. To change the basic conceptions by which he has learned to judge the rightness and reality of all specific situations would be to render subsequent experience meaningless, to make an empty caricature of what had been his life.

FIGURE 1. THE BIRTH-CYCLE, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF LIFE\*



\* Because the birth-cycle interval persists throughout their conjoint life, parent and child are always at a different stage of development and their relations are always therefore potentially subject to conflict. E.g., when the parent is at stage *D*, the child is at stage *B*. But social change adds another source of conflict, for it means that the parent, when at the stage where the child now is, acquired a different cultural content from that which the child must now acquire at that stage. This places the parent in the predicament of trying to transmit old content no longer suited to the offspring's needs in a changed world. In a stable society, *B* and *B'* would have the same cultural content. In a changing society, they do not, yet the parent tries to apply the content of *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., to the corresponding stages in the child's development, *A'*, *B'*, *C'*, etc., which supposedly and actually have a different content. Thus, a constant (the birth-cycle) and a variable (social change) combine to produce parent-youth conflict.

Though the birth-cycle remains absolutely the same, it does not remain relatively the same, because it occupies, as time goes on, a successively smaller percentage of the total time lived. Furthermore, because of the decelerating rate of socialization, the difference in the total amount of cultural content as between parent and child becomes less pronounced. After the period of adolescence, for example, the margin is reduced to a minimum, which explains why a minimum of conflict is achieved after that stage.

Although, in the birth-cycle gap between parent and offspring, astronomical time constitutes the basic point of disparity, the actual sequences, and hence the actual differences significant for us, are physiological, psychosocial, and sociological—each with an acceleration of its own within, but to some degree independent of, sidereal time, and each containing a diver-

gence between parent and child which must be taken into account in explaining parent-youth conflict.

*Physiological Differences.* Though the disparity in chronological age remains constant through life, the precise physiological differences between parent and offspring vary radically from one period to another. The organic contrasts between parent and *infant*, for example, are far different from those between parent and adolescent. Yet whatever the period, the organic differences produce contrasts (as between young and old) in those desires which, at least in part, are organically determined. Thus, at the time of adolescence the contrast is between an organism which is just reaching its full powers and one which is just losing them. The physiological need of the latter is for security and conservation, because as the superabundance of energy diminishes, the organism seems to hoard what remains.

Such differences, often alleged (under the heading of "disturbing physiological changes accompanying adolescence") as the primary cause of parent-adolescent strife, are undoubtedly a factor in such conflict, but, like other universal differences to be discussed, they form a constant factor present in every community, and therefore cannot in themselves explain the peculiar heightening of parent-youth conflict in our culture.

The fact is that most societies avoid the potential clash of old and young by using sociological position as a neutralizing agent. They assign definite and separate positions to persons of different ages, thereby eliminating competition between them for the same position and avoiding the competitive emotions of jealousy and envy. Also, since the expected behavior of old and young is thus made complementary rather than identical, the performance of cooperative functions as accomplished by different but mutually related activities suited to the disparate organic needs of each, with no coercion to behave in a manner unsuited to one's organic age. In our culture, where most positions are *theoretically* based on accomplishment rather than age, interage competition arises, superior organic propensities lead to a high evaluation of youth (the so-called "accent on youth"), a disproportionate lack of opportunity for youth manifests itself, and consequently, arrogance and frustration appear in the young, fear and envy, in the old.

*Psychosocial Differences: Adult Realism versus Youthful Idealism.* The decelerating rate of socialization (an outgrowth both of the human being's organic development, from infant plasticity to senile rigidity, and of his cumulative cultural and social development), when taken with rapid social change and other conditions of our society, tends to produce certain differences of orientation between parent and youth. Though lack of space makes it impossible to discuss all of these ramifications, we shall attempt to delineate at least one sector of difference in terms of the conflict between adult realism (or pragmatism) and youthful idealism.

Though both youth and age claim to see the truth, the old are more conservatively realistic than the young, because on the one hand they take

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Utopian ideals less seriously and on the other hand take what may be called operating ideals, if not more seriously, at least more for granted. Thus, middle-aged people notoriously forget the poetic ideals of a new social order which they cherished when young. In their place, they put simply the working ideals current in the society. There is, in short, a persistent tendency for the ideology of a person as he grows older to gravitate more and more toward the status quo ideology, unless other facts (such as a social crisis or hypnotic suggestion) intervene.<sup>5</sup> With advancing age, he becomes less and less bothered by inconsistencies in ideals. He tends to judge ideals according to whether they are widespread and hence effective in thinking about practical life, not according to whether they are logically consistent. Furthermore, he gradually ceases to bother about the *untruth* of his ideals, in the sense of their failure to correspond to reality. He assumes through long habit that, though they do not correspond perfectly, the discrepancy is not significant. The reality of an ideal is defined for him in terms of how many people accept it rather than how completely it is mirrored in actual behavior.<sup>6</sup> Thus, we call him, as he approaches middle age, a realist.

The young, however, are idealists, partly because they take working ideals literally and partly because they acquire ideals not fully operative in the social organization. Those in authority over children are obligated as a requirement of their status to inculcate ideals as a part of the official culture given the new generation.<sup>7</sup> The children are receptive because they have little social experience—experience being systematically kept from them (by such means as censorship, for example, a large part of which is to “protect” children). Consequently, young people possess little ballast for their acquired ideals, which therefore soar to the sky, whereas the middle-aged, by contrast, have plenty of ballast.

This relatively unchecked idealism in youth is eventually complicated by the fact that young people possess keen reasoning ability. The mind, simply as a logical machine, works as well at sixteen as at thirty-six.<sup>8</sup> Such logical capacity, combined with high ideals and an initial lack of experience, means that youth soon discovers with increasing age that the ideals it has been taught are true and consistent are not so in fact. Mental conflict thereupon ensues, for the young person has not learned that ideals may be useful with-

<sup>5</sup> See Footnote 11 for necessary qualifications.

<sup>6</sup> When discussing a youthful ideal, however, the older person is quick to take a dialectical advantage by pointing out not only that this ideal affronts the aspirations of the multitude, but that it also fails to correspond to human behavior either now or (by the lessons of history) probably in the future.

<sup>7</sup> See amusing but accurate article, “Fathers Are Liars,” *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1934.

<sup>8</sup> Evidence from mental growth data which point to a leveling off of the growth curve at about age 16. For charts and brief explanations, together with references, see F. K. Shuttleworth, *The Adolescent Period*, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, III, Serial No. 16 (Washington, D.C., 1938), Figs. 16, 230, 232, 276, 285, 308.

Maturity of judgment is of course another matter. We are speaking only of logical capacity. Judgment is based on experience as well as capacity; hence, adolescents are apt to lack it.

out being true and consistent. As a solution, youth is likely to take action designed to remove inconsistencies or force actual conduct into line with ideals, such action assuming one of several typical adolescent forms—from religious withdrawal to the militant support of some Utopian scheme—but in any case consisting essentially in serious allegiance to one or more of the ideal moral systems present in the culture.<sup>9</sup>

A different, usually later reaction to disillusionment is the cynical or sophomoric attitude; for, if the ideals one has imbibed cannot be reconciled and do not fit reality, then why not dismiss them as worthless? Cynicism has the advantage of giving justification for behavior that young organisms crave anyway. It might be mistaken for genuine realism if it were not for two things. The first is the emotional strain behind the "don't care" attitude. The cynic, in his judgment that the world is bad because of inconsistency and untruth of ideals, clearly implies that he still values the ideals. The true realist sees the inconsistency and untruth, but without emotion; he uses either ideals or reality whenever it suits his purpose. The second is the early disappearance of the cynical attitude. Increased experience usually teaches the adolescent that overt cynicism is unpopular and unworkable, that to deny and deride all beliefs which fail to cohere or to correspond to facts, and to act in opposition to them, is to alienate oneself from any group,<sup>10</sup> because these beliefs, however unreal, are precisely what makes group unity possible. Soon, therefore, the youthful cynic finds himself bound up with some group having a system of working ideals, and becomes merely another conformist, cynical only about the beliefs of other groups.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> An illustration of youthful reformism was afforded by the Laval University students who decided to "do something about" prostitution in the city of Quebec. They broke into eight houses in succession one night, "whacked naked inmates upon the buttocks, upset beds and and otherwise proved their collegiate virtue . . ." They ended by "shoving the few remaining girls out of doors into the cold autumn night." *Time*, October 19, 1936.

<sup>10</sup> This holds only for expressed cynicism, but so close is the relation of thought to action that the possibility of an entirely covert cynic seems remote.

<sup>11</sup> This tentative analysis holds only insofar as the logic of personality development in a complex culture is the sole factor. Because of other factors, concrete situations may be quite different. When, for example, a person is specifically trained in certain rigid, other-worldly, or impractical ideals, he may grow increasingly fanatical with the years rather than realistic, while his offspring, because of association with less fanatical persons, may be more pragmatic than he. The variation in group norms within a society produces persons who, whatever their orientation inside the group, remain more idealistic than the average outsider, while their children may, with outside contacts, become more pragmatic. Even within a group, however, a person's situation may be such as to drive him beyond the everyday realities of that group, while his children remain undisturbed. Such situations largely explain the personal crises that may alter one's orientation. The analysis, overly brief and mainly illustrative, therefore represents a certain degree of abstraction. The reader should realize, moreover, that the terms "realistic" and "idealistic" are chosen merely for convenience in trying to convey the idea, not for any evaluative judgments which they may happen to connote. The terms are not used in any technical epistemological sense, but simply in the way made plain by the context. Above all, it is not implied that ideals are "unreal." The ways in which they are "real" and "unreal" to observer and actor are complex indeed. See T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, 396, New York, 1937, and V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, III: 1300-1304, New York, 1935.



While the germ of this contrast between youthful idealism and adult realism may spring from the universal logic of personality development, it receives in our culture a peculiar exaggeration. Social change, complexity, and specialization (by compartmentalizing different aspect of life) segregate ideals from fact and throw together incompatible ideologies while at the same time providing the intellectual tools for discerning logical inconsistencies and empirical errors. Our highly elaborated burden of culture, correlated with a variegated system of achieved vertical mobility, necessitates long years of formal education which separate youth from adulthood, theory from practice, school from life. Insofar, then, as youth's reformist zeal or cynical negativism produces conflict with parents, the peculiar conditions of our culture are responsible.

*Sociological Differences: Parental Authority.* Since social status and office are everywhere partly distributed on the basis of age, personality development is intimately linked with the network of social positions successively occupied during life. Western society, in spite of an unusual amount of interage competition, maintains differences of social position between parent and child, the developmental gap between them being too clearcut, the symbiotic needs too fundamental, to escape being made a basis of social organization. Hence, parent and child, in a variety of ways, find themselves enmeshed in different social contexts and possessed of different outlooks. The much publicized critical attitude of youth toward established ways, for example, is partly a matter of being on the outside looking in. The "established ways" under criticism are usually institutions (such as property, marriage, profession) which the adolescent has not yet entered. He looks at them from the point of view of the outsider (especially since they affect him in a restrictive manner), either failing to imagine himself finding satisfaction in such patterns or else feeling resentful that the old have in them a vested interest from which he is excluded.

Not only is there differential position, but also mutually differential position, status being in many ways specific for and reciprocal between parent and child. Some of these differences, relating to the birth-cycle and constituting part of the family structure, are universal. This is particularly true of the super- and subordination summed up in the term *parental authority*.

Since sociological differences between parent and child are inherent in family organization, they constitute a universal factor potentially capable of producing conflict. Like the biological differences, however, they do not in themselves produce such conflict. In fact, they may help to avoid it. To understand how our society brings to expression the potentiality for conflict, indeed to deal realistically with the relation between the generations, we must do so not in generalized terms but in terms of the specific "power situation." Therefore, the remainder of our discussion will center upon the nature of parental authority and its vicissitudes in our society.

Because of his strategic position with reference to the new-born child (at

least in the familial type of reproductive institution), the parent is given considerable authority. Charged by his social group with the responsibility of controlling and training the child in conformity with the mores and thereby insuring the maintenance of the cultural structure, the parent, to fulfill his duties, must have the privileges as well as the obligations of authority, and the surrounding community ordinarily guarantees both.

The first thing to note about parental authority, in addition to its function in socialization, is that it is a case of authority within a primary group. Simmel has pointed out that authority is bearable for the subordinate because it touches only one aspect of life. Impersonal and objective, it permits all other aspects to be free from its particularistic dominance. This escape, however, is lacking in parental authority, for since the family includes most aspects of life, its authority is not limited, specific, or impersonal. What, then, can make this authority bearable? Three factors associated with the familial primary group help to give the answer: (1) the child is socialized within the family, and therefore knowing nothing else and being utterly dependent, the authority of the parent is internalized, accepted; (2) the family, like other primary groups, implies identification, in such sense that one person understands and responds emphatically to the sentiments of the other, so that the harshness of authority is ameliorated;<sup>12</sup> (3) in the intimate interaction of the primary group control can never be purely one-sided; there are too many ways in which the subordinated can exert the pressure of his will. When, therefore, the family system is a going concern, parental authority, however, inclusive, is not felt as despotic.

A second thing to note about parental authority is that while its duration is variable (lasting in some societies a few years and in others a lifetime), it inevitably involves a change, a progressive readjustment, in the respective positions of parent and child—in some cases an almost complete reversal of roles, in others at least a cumulative allowance for the fact of maturity in the subordinated offspring. Age is a unique basis for social stratification. Unlike birth, sex, wealth, or occupation, it implies that the stratification is temporary, that the person, if he lives a full life, will eventually traverse all of the strata having it as a basis. Therefore, there is a peculiar ambivalence attached to this kind of differentiation, as well as a constant directional movement. On the one hand, the young person, in the stage of maximum socialization, is, so to speak, *moving into* the social organization. His social personality is expanding, i.e., acquiring an increased amount of the cultural heritage, filling more powerful and numerous positions. His future is before him, in what the older person is leaving behind. The latter, on the other hand, has a future before him only in the sense that the offspring rep-

<sup>12</sup> House slaves, for example, are generally treated much better than field slaves. Authority over the former is of a personal type, while that over the latter (often in the form of a foreman-gang organization) is of a more impersonal or economic type.

resents it. Therefore, there is a disparity of interest, the young person placing his thoughts upon a future which, once the first stages of dependence are passed, does not include the parent, the old person placing his hopes vicariously upon the young. This situation, representing a tendency in every society, is avoided in many places by a system of respect for the aged and an imaginary projection of life beyond the grave. In the absence of such a religio-ancestral system, the role of the aged is a tragic one.<sup>13</sup>

Let us now take up, point by point, the manner in which western civilization has affected this *gemeinschaftliche* and processual form of authority.

1. *Conflicting Norms.* To begin with, rapid change has, as we saw, given old and young a different social content, so that they possess conflicting norms. There is a loss of mutual identification, and the parent will not "catch up" with the child's point of view, because he is supposed to dominate rather than follow. More than this, social complexity has confused the standards within the generations. Faced with conflicting goals, parents become inconsistent and confused in their own minds in rearing their children. The children, for example, acquire an argument against discipline by being able to point to some family wherein discipline is less severe, while the parent can retaliate by pointing to still other families wherein it is firmer. The acceptance of parental attitudes is less complete than formerly.

2. *Competing Authorities.* We took it for granted, when discussing rapid social change, that youth acquires new ideas, but we did not ask how. The truth is that, in a specialized and complex culture, they learn from competing authorities. Today, for example, education is largely in the hands of professional specialists, some of whom, as college professors, resemble the sophists of ancient Athens by virtue of their work of accumulating and purveying knowledge, and who consequently have ideas in advance of the populace at large (i.e., the parents). By giving the younger generation these advanced ideas, they (and many other extrafamilial agencies, including youth's contemporaries) widen the intellectual gap between parent and child.<sup>14</sup>

3. *Little Explicit Institutionalization of Steps in Parental Authority.* Our society provides little explicit institutionalization of the progressive readjustments of authority as between parent and child. We are intermediate between the extreme of virtually permanent parental authority and the extreme of very early emancipation, because we encourage release in late adolescence. Unfortunately, this is a time of enhanced sexual desire, so that the problem of sex and the problem of emancipation occur simultaneously

<sup>13</sup> Sometimes compensated for by an interest in the grandchildren, which permits them partially to recover the role of the vigorous parent.

<sup>14</sup> The essential point is not that there are other authorities—in every society there are extrafamilial influences in socialization—but that, because of specialization and individualistic enterprise, they are *competing* authorities. Because they make a living by their work and are specialists in socialization, some authorities have a competitive advantage over parents who are amateurs or at best merely general practitioners.



and complicate each other. Yet even this would doubtless be satisfactory if it were not for the fact that among us the exact time when authority is relinquished, the exact amount, and the proper ceremonial behavior are not clearly defined. Not only do different groups and families have conflicting patterns, and new situations arise to which old definitions will not apply, but the different spheres of life (legal, economic, religious, intellectual) do not synchronize, maturity in one sphere and immaturity in another often coexisting. The readjustment of authority between individuals is always a ticklish process, and when it is a matter of such close authority as that between parent and child it is apt to be still more ticklish. The failure of our culture to institutionalize this readjustment by a series of well-defined, well-publicized steps is undoubtedly a cause of much parent-youth dissension. The adolescent's sociological exit from his family, via education, work, marriage, and change of residence, is fraught with potential conflicts of interest which only a definite system of institutional controls can neutralize. The parents have a vital stake in what the offspring will do. Because his acquisition of independence will free the parents of many obligations, they are willing to relinquish their authority; yet, precisely because their own status is socially identified with that of their offspring, they wish to insure satisfactory conduct on the latter's part and are tempted to prolong their authority by making the decisions themselves. In the absence of institutional prescriptions, the conflict of interest may lead to a struggle for power, the parents fighting to keep control in matters of importance to themselves, the son or daughter clinging to personally indispensable family services while seeking to evade the concomitant control.

4. *Concentration within the Small Family.* Our family system is peculiar in that it manifests a paradoxical combination of concentration and dispersion. On the one hand, the unusual smallness of the family unit makes for a strange intensity of family feeling, while on the other, the fact that most pursuits take place outside the home makes for a dispersion of activities. Though apparently contradictory, the two phenomena are really interrelated and traceable ultimately to the same factors in our social structure. Since the first refers to that type of affection and antagonism found between relatives, and the second to activities, it can be seen that the second (dispersion) isolates and increases the intensity of the affectional element by sheering away common activities and the extended kin. Whereas ordinarily the sentiments of kinship are organically related to a number of common activities and spread over a wide circle of relatives, in our mobile society they are associated with only a few common activities and concentrated within only the immediate family. This makes them at once more instable (because ungrounded) and more intense. With the diminishing birth rate, our family is the world's smallest kinship unit, a tiny closed circle. Consequently, a great deal of family sentiment is directed toward a

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few individuals, who are so important to the emotional life that complexes easily develop. This emotional intensity and situational instability increase both the probability and severity of conflict.

In a familistic society, where there are several adult male and female relatives within the effective kinship group to whom the child turns for affection and aid, and many members of the younger generation in whom the parents have a paternal interest, there appears to be less intensity of emotion for any particular kinsman and consequently less chance for severe conflict.<sup>15</sup> Also, if conflict between any two relatives does arise, it may be handled by shifting mutual rights and obligations to another relative.<sup>16</sup>

5. *Open Competition for Socioeconomic Position.* Our emphasis upon individual initiative and vertical mobility, in contrast to rural-stable regimes, means that one's future occupation and destiny are determined more at adolescence than at birth, the adolescent himself (as well as the parents) having some part in the decision. Before him spread a panorama of possible occupations and avenues of advancement, all of them fraught with the uncertainties of competitive vicissitude. The youth is ignorant of most of the facts. So is the parent, but less so. Both attempt to collaborate on the future, but because of previously mentioned sources of friction, the collaboration is frequently stormy. They evaluate future possibilities differently, and since the decision is uncertain yet important, a clash of wills results. The necessity of choice at adolescence extends beyond the occupational field to practically every phase of life, the parents having an interest in each decision. A culture in which more of the choices of life were settled beforehand by ascription, where the possibilities were fewer and the responsibilities of choice less urgent, would have much less parent-youth conflict.<sup>17</sup>

6. *Sex Tension.* If until now we have ignored sex taboos, the omission has represented a deliberate attempt to place them in their proper context with other factors, rather than in the unduly prominent place usually given them.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly, because of a constellation of cultural conditions, sex looms as an important bone of parent-youth contention. Our morality, for instance, demands both premarital chastity and postponement of marriage, thus creating a long period of desperate eagerness when young persons practically at the peak of their sexual capacity are forbidden to enjoy it.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Mead, *Social Organization of Manua*, 84, Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 76, 1930. Large heterogeneous households early accustom the child to expect emotional rewards from many different persons. D. M. Spencer, "The Composition of the Family as a Factor in the Behavior of Children in Fijian Society," *Sociometry*, (1939) 2: 47-55.

<sup>16</sup> The principle of substitution is widespread in familism, as shown by the wide distribution of adoption, levirate, sororate, and classificatory kinship nomenclature.

<sup>17</sup> M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 200 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., e.g., L. K. Frank, "The Management of Tensions," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, March 1928, 33: 706-22; M. Mead, *op. cit.*, 216-217, 222-23.

Naturally, tensions arise—tensions which adolescents try to relieve, and adults hope they will relieve, in some socially acceptable form. Such tensions not only make the adolescent intractable and capricious, but create a genuine conflict of interest between the two generations. The parent, with respect to the child's behavior, represents morality, while the offspring reflects morality *plus* his organic cravings. The stage is thereby set for conflict, evasion, and deceit. For the mass of parents, toleration is never possible. For the mass of adolescents, sublimation is never sufficient. Given our system of morality, conflict seems well nigh inevitable.

Yet it is not sex itself but the way it is handled that causes conflict. If sex patterns were carefully, definitely, and uniformly geared with nonsexual patterns in the social structure, there would be no parent-youth conflict over sex. As it is, rapid change has opposed the sex standards of different groups and generations, leaving impulse only chaotically controlled.

The extraordinary preoccupation of modern parents with the sex life of their adolescent offspring is easily understandable. First, our morality is sex-centered. The strength of the impulse which it seeks to control, the consequent stringency of its rules, and the importance of reproductive institutions for society, make sex so morally important that being moral and being sexually discreet are synonymous. Small wonder, then, that parents, charged with responsibility for their children and fearful of their own status in the eyes of the moral community, are preoccupied with what their offspring will do in this matter. Moreover, sex is intrinsically involved in the family structure and is therefore of unusual significance to family members *qua* family members. Offspring and parent are not simply two persons who happen to live together; they are two persons who happen to live together because of past sex relations between the parents. Also, between parent and child there stand strong incest taboos, and doubtless the unvoiced possibility of violating these unconsciously intensifies the interest of each in the other's sexual conduct. In addition, since sexual behavior is connected with the offspring's formation of a new family of his own, it is naturally of concern to the parent. Finally, these factors taken in combination with the delicacy of the authoritarian relation, the emotional intensity within the small family, and the confusion of sex standards, make it easy to explain the parental interest in adolescent sexuality. Yet because sex is a tabooed topic between parent and child,<sup>19</sup> parental control must be indirect and devious, which creates additional possibilities of conflict.

*Summary and Conclusion.* Our parent-youth conflict thus results from the interaction of certain universals of the parent-child relation and certain

<sup>19</sup> "Even among the essentially 'unrepressed' Trobrianders the parent is never the confidant in matters of sex." Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex and Reproduction in Savage Society*, 36 (note), London, 1927, p. 36n. Cf. the interesting article, "Intrusive Parents," *The Commentator*, September 1938, which opposes frank sex discussion between parents and children.

variables the values of which are peculiar to modern culture. The universals are (1) the basic age or birth-cycle differential between parent and child, (2) the decelerating rate of socialization with advancing age, and (3) the resulting intrinsic differences between old and young on the physiological, psychosocial, and sociological planes.

Though these universal factors *tend* to produce conflict between parent and child, whether or not they do so depends upon the variables. We have seen that the distinctive general features of our society are responsible for our excessive parent-adolescent friction. Indeed, they are the same features which are affecting *all* family relations. The delineation of these variables has not been systematic, because the scientific classification of whole societies has not yet been accomplished; and it has been difficult, in view of the interrelated character of societal traits, to seize upon certain features and ignore others. Yet certainly the following four complex variables are important: (1) the rate of social change; (2) the extent of complexity in the social structure; (3) the degree of integration in the culture; and (4) the velocity of movement (e.g., vertical mobility) within the structure and its relation to the cultural values.

Our rapid social change, for example, has crowded historical meaning into the family time-span, has thereby given the offspring a different social content from that which the parent acquired, and consequently has added to the already existent intrinsic differences between parent and youth, a set of extrinsic ones which double the chance of alienation. Moreover, our great societal complexity, our evident cultural conflict, and our emphasis upon open competition for socioeconomic status have all added to this initial effect. We have seen, for instance, that they have disorgannized the important relation of parental authority by confusing the goals of child control, setting up competing authorities, creating a small family system, making necessary certain significant choices at the time of adolescence, and leading to an absence of definite institutional mechanisms to symbolize and enforce the progressively changing stages of parental power.

If ours were a simple rural-stable society, mainly familistic, the emancipation from parental authority being gradual and marked by definite institutionalized steps, with no great postponement of marriage, sex taboo, or open competition for status, parents and youth would not be in conflict. Hence, the presence of parent-youth conflict in our civilization is one more specific manifestation of the incompatibility between an urban-industrial-mobile social system and the familial type of reproductive institutions.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For further evidence of this incompatibility, see the writer's "Reproductive Institutions and the Pressure for Population," (*Brit. Sociol. Rev.*; July 1937, 29: 289-306.

## THE CHANGING PROBABILITY OF DIVORCE

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IN MANY national statistical offices abroad, and in some local statistical offices in the United States, divorce data are often properly classified along with marriage data as vital statistics.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that the United States ranks first in its divorce rate, and recognizing the apparent threat of divorce to the family, it represents an evident lag that statistics of marriage and divorce have been so largely neglected in the United States. The reasons for this, and the reasons why one of the first governmental "economies" in 1932 was to cease collection of this most vital of all statistical data (while fostering an immensity of other statistical reports), would be interesting to search out. The intermittent and scanty federal reports create a need which locally gathered data cannot fill;<sup>2</sup> and remembering the initial crudity of the data, ingenious mathematical manipulations might merely be an exercise in mental gymnastics, if not a propagandistic disguise.<sup>3</sup>

However, the data at hand are not always utilized to the fullest even when the necessary techniques have been suggested. As early as 1909, the Bureau of the Census, in remarking on its table showing divorces according to years of duration of marriage, cautioned:

Neither figures . . . show what proportion of the total number of divorced marriages would be divorced in each year of married life as a result of present conditions or conditions prevailing at a particular time . . . the table as a whole would seem to indicate that thus far the distribution of divorces by duration of marriage has not undergone any very marked change . . . reaches its maximum in the fifth year of married life, that is, after the marriage has endured four years. . . . It would be

<sup>1</sup> There has been some suggestion for the establishment of a registration area for marriage and divorce data, but it has not been adequately conceived or acted upon. See the U. S. Census reports, *Marriage and Divorce*, 1916, 5-7, and 1922, 3; W. F. Willcox, *Introduction to the Vital Statistics of the United States, 1900 to 1930*, 1, 6, 15-16, Washington, D. C., 1933; *Government Statistics*, 30, Social Sci. Res. Council, Bull. 26, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Various attempts to utilize local sources must be referred to with considerable caution, especially when the picture for the entire country is desired. Cf. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company *Statistical Bulletins*: "Trend of Divorce in 50 Years," February 1939, and "The Trend of Divorce Since 1929," August 1936; E. R. Mowrer, "The Trend and Ecology of Family Disintegration in Chicago," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1938; S. A. Stouffer and L. M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Ann. Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, November 1936; S. A. Stouffer and P. F. Lazarsfeld, *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression*, Soc. Sci. Res. Council, Bulletin 29, 1937. One can raise the methodological objection that observations of other cultures cannot be applied to the American situation with perfect surety. Cf. Tees Gulden, "Divorce and the Business Cycle," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1939.

<sup>3</sup> L. C. Marshall and G. May, *The Divorce Court, Ohio*, 7, 55, Baltimore, 1933; W. F. Willcox, *op. cit.*; and I. M. Rubinow, "Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce," *Ann. Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, Pamphlet No. 3, 1936.



interesting to know how far the gradual decrease in the number of divorces after the fifth year is due to a decrease in the number of surviving marriages from which divorce may arise. It may safely be assumed that while the death rate . . . increases as marriage grows older, the divorce rate declines. Data for establishing the fact of such a decline or for measuring it are, however, unavailable.<sup>4</sup>

The question involves so many niceties that it can probably be satisfactorily answered only by a method of inquiry similar to that followed by life insurance companies in making mortality tables.<sup>5</sup>

"What are the chances that a marriage will be terminated by divorce" cannot be adequately answered. Moreover, "no absolutely conclusive inference of the probability of divorce has been established."

The Census recognized at that early date how marriages were subject to changes in the divorce mores:

Apparently the divorce rate, like the velocity of a falling body, is constantly increasing, and it is impossible to determine statistically from available data what the results would be if the rate reached at any particular time remained constant.

While it is true that "conditions are not static but dynamic,"<sup>6</sup> the foregoing seems to be a denial either (1) of the possibility of actuarial statistics for marriage, or (2) of the availability of data necessary for such an analysis. The second condition is more nearly correct; yet, a probability of divorce can be calculated from rough data available. The term probability is used with actuarial understanding that new conditions may arise to invalidate our estimates of future "chances."

The very answer to this problem, utilizing data published in later reports (1922-32) came when Alfred Cahen in 1932 suggested a more refined technique for measuring the divorce phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> He made, however, only a very limited application of his method, and saw no means of availing himself of earlier data. Calvin Hall in 1934, working independently<sup>8</sup> in the same field, with slightly different interests, used a similar technique of analysis, but not quite so refined as Cahen's. Recently, in surveying the field of divorce statistics, to find a good index of divorce, a special committee of the Population Association of America evaluated various methods, and made a further application of Cahen's technique (with some modification) to two additional year periods.<sup>9</sup>

This paper purposes to exploit as completely as possible all data in the

<sup>4</sup> *Marriage and Divorce, 1887-1906*, Pt. I, 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 37.

<sup>7</sup> A. Cahen, *A Statistical Analysis of Divorce*, New York, 1932.

<sup>8</sup> C. Hall, "The Instability of Post War Marriages," *J. Soc. Psychol.*, Nov. 1934, 523-530, esp. 529. Because Hall's figures are actually one half the true rate, his mean deviation test smacks of an ironic mathematicism; but this does not alter his main thesis.

<sup>9</sup> "Methods of Estimating the Proportional Frequency of Divorce," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1937, 398-405. This article has some statistical miscalculations.

Census reports on divorce according to duration of marriage<sup>10</sup> (presuming a fair degree of accuracy for the data<sup>11</sup>) by application of the duration-specific technique. In addition, three aspects of the dynamic hypothesis will be tested by the results of the analysis.

*Method.* The method merely refers divorces in each duration group back to the year in which the marriages were most likely contracted, thus obtaining a true base for the calculation of the divorce rate. The sum of the duration-specific rates represents the probability of divorce for the particular year. Cahen's method (Hall's is a variant) was employed in this report, with some modifications. When these rates obtained are further adjusted for minimization due to deaths and divorces, duration-specific expectancy rates are obtained, which are similar to age-specific death rates. In adjusting the rates, mortality conditions of 1926 were selected as representative, and the twenty-second year was used as the first year of married life. The adjustment of the rates for divorce minimization was not included by Cahen, although it should be appreciated that with an increasing frequency of divorce, reduction of the basal figure of marriages by this means, in calculating the duration-specific expectancy rates, becomes quite significant.<sup>12</sup> In fact, it was found that, except for the first year, divorce takes a greater numerical toll of marriages than death—up to the eighth year of duration of married life.<sup>13</sup> It was found that in 1926 death reduced the number of marriages by one third before thirty years of married life had elapsed, while divorce took toll of over one sixth of the initial marriages. In general, while death correction raises the probability curve in the upper durations of marriage, the divorce correction has an important effect upon the rates of the earlier years.

A certain number of divorces were reported "unspecified" according to duration of marriage, ranging from 3.6 to 6.0 percent. When these were prorated for the year 1926 it was found that the over-all rate was increased by an equal percentage. The over-all rates were correspondingly modified, therefore.

<sup>10</sup> The tabulation for 1932 was kindly supplied from unpublished data by Dr. L. E. Truesdell, by request. A caution on the 1887-1906 data from A. M. Edwards, also of the Census Bureau, was extremely helpful. Because marriage returns were admittedly defective, latest complete revisions were used. See the 1887-1906 report, Pt. I, 104; and the 1922-1932 reports, showing the duration of marriage according to whom the divorce was granted. Cf. Willcox, *op. cit.*, 6. The two sets of data are slightly noncomparable as to duration designation. The Census could combine both methods of tabulation showing exact duration, and year of marriage.

<sup>11</sup> See introductory statements in Census reports; J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, 375-83, 1934, New York; Marshall and May, *op. cit.*; Cahen, *op. cit.* It might be safe to assume an accuracy of better than 90 percent. Hence, a ten-inch slide rule furnishes a handy and adequate tool.

<sup>12</sup> This technique was applied only to the 1922-1932 series of data, for which age-specific mortality rates were available.

<sup>13</sup> If it is true that mortality rates have a marital aspect, divorce-candidates may have a higher death rate than the more stably married, and hence death may gloss over mistakes before they become data. Conversely, improvement in mortality conditions through the years may bring more divorces.

## THE CHANGING PROBABILITY OF DIVORCE

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TABLE I. RATE OF DIVORCE PER 1000 MARRIAGES  
ACCORDING TO THE YEAR OF DURATION OF THE MARRIAGE

Duration in Years (1)	Year of Divorce										
	1932 (2)	1931 (3)	1930 (4)	1929 (5)	1928 (6)	1927 (7)	1926 (8)	1925 (9)	1924 (10)	1923 (11)	1922 (12)
0.0-0.9	6.12	7.02	7.26	6.92	7.00	6.93	6.79	6.62	6.28	5.67	5.68
1.0-1.9	10.24	11.90	11.67	12.24	12.01	11.90	11.43	11.52	10.09	10.28	10.42
2.0-2.9	11.40	12.06	12.90	13.58	13.19	13.32	12.93	11.61	11.53	12.60	11.16
3.0-3.9	10.67	12.29	12.96	13.89	13.21	13.34	12.14	12.00	12.72	12.45	10.67
4.0-4.9	10.39	11.40	12.06	12.66	12.74	11.69	11.59	12.16	11.73	10.95	11.19
5.0-5.9	9.28	10.29	11.14	11.98	10.97	11.15	11.60	10.76	9.91	11.22	8.44
6.0-6.9	8.35	9.48	9.92	9.90	9.96	10.99	10.00	8.95	10.33	8.67	7.43
7.0-7.9	7.34	8.59	8.43	9.34	9.72	9.35	8.22	9.22	7.68	7.43	6.91
8.0-8.9	6.75	7.07	7.83	8.98	8.44	7.61	8.36	6.96	6.72	6.77	6.50
9.0-9.9	5.69	6.79	7.47	7.73	6.75	7.53	6.38	6.15	6.12	6.43	5.98
10.0-10.9	5.32	6.67	6.58	6.30	7.16	5.98	5.56		5.86	6.05	5.41
11.0-11.9	5.18	5.70	5.32	6.53	5.37	5.32	5.00		5.36	5.13	4.95
12.0-12.9	4.46	4.47	5.56	5.14	4.71	4.78	4.75	4.78*	4.81	4.82	4.31
13.0-13.9	3.54	4.77	4.29	4.50	4.19	4.47	4.44		4.39	4.30	3.97
14.0-14.9	3.89	3.77	3.82	4.07	4.16	4.21	3.99		3.93	3.79	3.80
15.0-15.9	2.94	3.28	3.48	3.88	3.88	3.77	3.81		3.50	3.76	3.34
16.0-16.9	2.54	3.07	3.29	3.50	3.41	3.55	3.26		3.49	3.24	3.08
17.0-17.9	2.38	2.94	3.20	3.21	3.19	3.08	2.86	3.16*	2.92	3.10	2.88
18.0-18.9	2.29	2.70	2.68	2.93	2.97	2.82	2.99		2.88	2.94	2.67
19.0-19.9	2.18	2.41	2.56	2.66	2.62	2.84	2.62		2.72	2.64	2.51
20.0-20.9	1.96	2.43	2.51	2.69	2.80	2.55	2.61		2.71	2.52	2.41
21.0-21.9	1.82	2.16	2.18	2.56	2.22	2.52	2.31				
22.0-22.9	1.64	1.87	2.16	2.14	2.22	2.20	2.15	2.23*			
23.0-23.9	1.47	1.88	1.95	2.14	2.09	2.04	2.00				
24.0-24.9	1.51	1.59	1.80	1.95	1.90	1.86	1.85				
25.0-25.9	1.37	1.54	1.64	1.84	1.83	1.79	1.85				
26.0-26.9	1.16	1.36	1.49	1.56	1.56	1.75	1.63				
27.0-27.9	1.11	1.28	1.37	1.40	1.50	1.62	1.35				
28.0-28.9	.93	1.05	1.12	1.48	1.34	1.25	1.30				
29.0-29.9	.81	.97	1.10	1.22	1.01	1.06	1.10				
30.0 & up	5.15	6.23	6.51	6.87	6.81	6.75	6.55				
Percent Undistributed	3.6	4.1	4.0	4.4	5.5	5.2	4.6	5.3	6.0	5.1	5.2

\* These rates are for the 5-year intervals 10-14.9, 15-19.9, and 20-24.9, calculated from published data.

While not properly divorces, annulments might well be considered in the calculation of divorce rates, being an additional factor in minimization of rates. To keep the two sets of data inherently and mutually consistent, they were excluded. Their number is small, and, except for the different manner in which they might affect the shape of the divorce curve, they might be considered to counterbalance the inclusion of divorces granted to persons married abroad. The summary rates were therefore not significantly affected by their exclusion.

TABLE 2. RATE OF DIVORCE PER 1000 MARRIAGES  
ACCORDING TO THE YEAR OF DURATION AT THE MARRIAGE

Average Duration in Years	Year of Divorce																		
	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1899	1898	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893	1892	1891	1890	1889	1888
1	3.02	3.08	3.08	3.04	2.98	3.14	2.67	2.59	2.35	2.34	2.21	2.21	2.10	1.99	2.00	1.95	1.95	1.80	1.69
2	6.52	6.20	6.18	6.31	6.11	5.71	5.61	5.32	4.93	4.77	4.57	4.49	4.08	4.23	4.38	4.18	3.95	4.05	
3	7.42	7.41	7.52	7.70	6.95	7.40	6.80	6.58	6.24	5.67	5.59	5.42	5.16	5.39	5.39	5.21	5.27		
4	7.98	7.54	7.82	7.82	7.35	7.28	6.88	6.67	6.31	6.05	6.04	5.61	5.51	5.44	5.63	5.80			
5	7.58	7.60	6.92	7.42	6.77	7.07	6.76	6.22	6.07	5.90	5.79	5.68	5.13	5.31	5.58				
6	7.56	6.33	6.78	6.59	6.54	6.59	6.39	5.94	5.82	5.51	5.63	5.03	5.05	4.97					
7	5.95	6.39	5.93	6.08	5.99	6.46	5.79	5.55	5.34	5.33	5.13	4.76	4.62						
8	5.96	5.37	5.47	5.71	5.64	5.72	5.60	5.20	4.96	4.56	4.54	4.53							
9	5.22	5.10	5.00	4.97	4.87	5.08	4.95	4.92	4.25	4.17	4.24								
10	4.83	4.73	4.81	4.76	4.90	4.78	4.63	4.22	4.28	3.90									
11	4.45	4.40	4.33	4.48	4.26	4.57	4.08	3.97	3.97										
12	4.00	3.67	3.96	3.76	3.90	4.10	3.90	3.72											
13	3.52	3.66	3.46	3.68	3.66	3.79	3.43												
14	3.28	3.11	3.61	3.36	3.40	3.43													
15	3.00	3.24	3.07	3.37	3.08														
16	2.97	2.78	2.85	2.83															
17	2.56	2.62	2.67																
18	2.53	2.29																	
19	2.22																		
Percent Undistr.	3.6	3.8	4.0	3.9	4.3	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.7	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.5	5.6	5.2	5.5	5.6	6.4	6.1

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Divorces to persons married abroad, and divorces abroad to persons married in the U. S., were considered, but no adjustment was made.

*The Divorce Rate.* What is the true rate of divorce? For the period 1887-1906, the Census states that the true ratio of marriages dissolved by divorce "would seem to be somewhere between" one divorce in 14 marriages and one divorce in 16 marriages. Elsewhere on the same page, another estimate gives us one in 12. The comparison of marriages ended by death and by divorce leads to a figure of near 8 percent. In short, somewhere between 6 percent and 8 percent lies the "true" estimate of marriage fatality, of that period. Willcox drew up a growth curve for divorce and predicted the percent of marriages ending by divorce to be 10.4 percent in 1910, 13.3 in 1920, and 16.8 in 1930.<sup>14</sup> Stouffer and Spencer give this estimate: 1910-14, 13.5 percent; 1915-19, 15.2 percent; 1920-24, 21.2 percent; 1925-29, 21.8 percent, quoting Rubinow.<sup>15</sup>

Using the duration-specific sums for the years 1926 to 1932 as a guide, adjustment factors were determined such that, when multiplied by the totals for a specified number of years of duration, and increased by the percentage of "undistributed" divorces, an estimated total percentage figure for divorce was obtained.<sup>16</sup>

With a thirty-year interval some of the rates show a doubling, although a comparison with "depression" rates is more favorable to the marital state. If the divorce rate doubled in about a generation, can we expect twice as high a rate in 1958 over 1928, or a marriage fatality of over 35 percent?<sup>17</sup>

*The Probability Curve.* At the outset, certain cautions should be observed in interpretation:<sup>18</sup> (1) there is a recognizable lag between marriages and separations and between these separations and divorce; (2) a lag of one or two years, due to legal requirements and court procedure may produce a false peak in the third year or so; (3) annulments, while a small part

<sup>14</sup> Cahen, *op. cit.* Willcox used a death-or-divorce technique.

<sup>15</sup> *Annals*, *op. cit.*, 66. It is interesting to note that F. L. Hoffman writing in the *J. Soc. Hygiene* for March 1929 scoffs at the possibility of such a rate as 20 percent, "One amateurish preacher recently assured a distinguished audience that within 50 years one marriage in five would end in dissolution," 129. Cf. W. Waller, *The Family*, 539; *U. S. Census*, 1887-1906, 37; Stouffer and Spencer, *op. cit.*, 67; E. A. Ross, *Changing America*, New York, 1912; Cahen, *op. cit.*; E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relations*, 129, New York 1928; H. A. Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems*, 477, New York, 1938. the Rubinow estimate, on page 19 of his *Annals* article cited in Footnote 3.

<sup>16</sup> For the reliability of this assumption, note the parallelism of the duration-specific rates.

<sup>17</sup> There has been some suggestion that the depression has permanently saved some marriages from divorce. Cf. Stouffer and Spencer, *op. cit.*, 67; Stouffer and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, 69-72, 163.

<sup>18</sup> See the *U. S. Census Report* for 1887-1906, Pt. I, 40, 106-111; K. Young and C. Dedrick, "Duration of Marriages in the State of Wisconsin," *J. Amer. Statist. Assn.*, 27: 160-167; E. R. Mowrer, "Trend and Ecology of Family Disintegration in Chicago," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1938, 344-353, esp. 345-346; Marshall and May, *op. cit.*, 12, 19, 86-87, 254.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES ENDING IN DIVORCE, 1892-1932, BASED ON DATA FOR SPECIFIED DURATIONS

Year	Durations <sup>1</sup>				
	0-5 years	0-10 years	0-15 years	0-20 years	0-30 years and up
1932	14.9	14.7	14.7	14.7	14.5
1931	16.7	16.5	16.7	16.7	16.6
1930	17.4	17.3	17.3	17.3	17.3
1929	18.2	18.4	18.3	18.3	18.4
1928	18.0	18.0	17.9	18.0	18.0
1927	17.7	17.9	17.7	17.8	17.9
1926	16.9	17.1	16.9	17.0	17.1
1925	16.7	16.6	16.5	16.7	
1924	16.4	16.2	16.4	16.5	
1923	16.1	15.9	16.1	16.3	
1922	15.2	14.6	14.7	14.9	
1906	10.9	11.0	10.9	11.0	
1905	10.7	10.6	10.6	10.7	
1904	10.6	10.6	10.6		
1903	10.7	10.6	10.7		
1902	10.3	10.4	10.5		
1901	10.3	10.6			
1900	9.7	10.0			
1899	9.3	9.5			
1898	8.8	9.0			
1897	8.4	8.7			
1896	8.3				
1895	8.0				
1894	7.5				
1893	7.6				
1892	7.9				

<sup>1</sup> The factors used for the 1922-1932 series were 2.94, 1.64, 1.31, and 1.17. Because of the smaller curvature of the probability curves for 1892-1906, the factors used were 3.24, 1.71, 1.31, and 1.17. As noted above, the two series have slightly different duration designation.

of the whole, might be considered as divorces, and since they are most significant in the first and second years, if they were included in the rate calculations, they would modify the lower end of the curve most of all. The biasing factors of an increasing marriage rate, death, and divorce minimization have been eliminated largely in other unpublished tables. As Cahen found, these adjustments affect the upper duration expectancies most of all. With the previous qualifications in mind, however, the sudden hump in the probability curves may be fictitious; in the vernacular, the first year may still be the hardest.<sup>19</sup> The curve might properly be a constantly diminishing one. That divorce is not a phenomenon uniquely peculiar to the

<sup>19</sup> Marshall and May, *op. cit.*, 86; L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York, 1938); E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage*, 174, 246, 248, 362, New York, 1939.

early years of married life, however, is indicated by the significant number of divorces after fifty years of married life. Indeed, it is not until the tenth year that the likelihood of divorce tends to lessen considerably.

*The Modal Year.* With the reservations already made upon the nature of a modal year in our results, we may note that the modal year (with few exceptions) occurred in the 1887-1906 series when marriages had endured an average of four years; in the 1922-32 series when marriages had endured an average of three and a half years. The reason for most of the irregularities in the modes can be found in the diagonal movement of marriages (of a particular year) which have a higher susceptibility to divorce; viz., post-war marriages of the 1921 derivative, shifting the 1925 mode to an exceptional high. Consideration of the crude numerical count does not change this conclusion to any significant degree.<sup>20</sup>

*The Average Duration of Marriages Ending in Divorce.* Do marriages which end in divorce today have a shorter duration than did marriages of yesteryear? In answer to this question a method comparable to mortality adjustment methods was adopted.<sup>21</sup> Contrasting the two series of data for the first ten years of duration there seems to have been a shortening of about three fourths of one year; while for the first fifteen years, the shortening is about one year. Compared to the earlier series, we might say there has been a shortening in duration of marriages which end in divorce of about 15 percent. Over the thirty years, this is not such an outstanding movement. The average duration of marriages which end in divorce has varied around  $10.5 \pm .5$  years.<sup>22</sup>

*The Historical Trend.* In the face of the general upward trend in the divorce rate, a change in the family mores must be recognized, whether divorce is an indication of family disorganization or not. However, it has been noted that the rate doubled over a thirty-year interval; and prior to the depression the steady upward trend hardly ever abated. Moreover, this movement is evidenced equally as well in the duration-specific rates, as it is in the over-all rate, with some variability, of course.

<sup>20</sup> Some statements on the shift in the modal year are undoubtedly exaggerations. Cf. Folsom, *op. cit.*, 383; Cahen, *op. cit.*, 123-126; H. A. Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems*, 475, New York, 1938; Waller, *op. cit.*, 529.

<sup>21</sup> This consists simply of multiplying the rates by the center-duration corresponding, summing, and dividing the sum obtained by the sum of the duration-specific rates. The two series were not completely parallel because the duration designation for the earlier series gives it a greater range: viz., the "Ten years average duration" (1887-1906) includes some items over 10 years. This would tend to minimize the statements of the amount of difference, although not greatly.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Met. Life Ins. Co., *op. cit.*, Feb. 1939; Cahen, *op. cit.*; Young and Dedrick, *op. cit.*; *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1938; W. F. Ogburn, *Recent Social Trends*, 664-70; C. D. Wright, *Outline of Practical Sociology*, 166-167, New York, 1909; U. S. Census, *Marriage and Divorce* reports, and *Bulletin 96*. See footnote 20. There should be noted a difference in the statements: "average duration of marriages terminated by divorce" and "the median of the duration-specific rates."

*The Situational Aspect.* Such factors which affect the divorce rate as of a particular time might be regarded as immediate or situational factors influencing the divorce rate. The most marked indication of this was the recent economic collapse, when the divorce rate in all years of marriage duration evidenced a decided recession. In the short space of three years, the divorce rate dropped over 20 percent starting immediately with the economic crash. Other peak years that stand out are 1901 and 1903. That the situational aspect of divorce is important cannot be doubted. However, for this reason it would be impossible to predict with certainty as yet, even making certain trend assumptions and adjustments, just what will be the divorce rate of 1926 marriages in the year 1950, for instance; for, we have yet to wait upon other needed forecastings of the probable incidence and severity of economic cycles, to mention only one situation. There are many problems beyond this, such as cultural accommodation to business cycles, to mention only one mutation.

*The Biographical Aspect of Divorce.* The third type of movement discernible in the rates is a confirmation and extension of Hall's hypothesis: that the time at which a marriage is contracted has important bearing upon the success of the marriage in terms of divorce risk. Hall limited his thesis to the instability of postwar marriages and gave as confirmation the diagonal nonconformity appearing in the rates, stemming from 1921 marriages. There is no reason why we could not theoretically extend this generalization beyond the war-time limitation. One of the remarkable results of this study, in addition to other minor traces of similar movement, is that marriages of 1898 and 1900 show a greater incidence to divorce, with 1899 marriages showing a greater stability. If our data do not mislead us, here is another instance of war-time hazard.<sup>23</sup> And still further confirmation can be seen in the high rate of divorce for marriages contracted in 1918.<sup>24</sup>

*Conclusion.* Various methods have been suggested for the calculation of a divorce rate.<sup>25</sup> The duration-specific technique is the most desirable because of its logical refinement, its ease of application, and its more general usefulness. Slight improvement in the manner of tabulation would lend even greater validity to this type of analysis.

<sup>23</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*; D. V. Glass, *Sociol. Rev.*, 26: 293-94, suggests a similar explanation; Cahen, *op. cit.*, 120, 136. Since our results depend upon accurate enumeration of a marriage base, under-enumeration in marriages during a war period might lead to a false diagonal movement, or trace. It is presumed and deemed that this is not the case.

<sup>24</sup> If we recognize the assumption inherent in the method of referral, used to calculate duration-specific rates (Cahen's vs. Hall's), we might place these marriages of 1918 as centering about January of that year. This would place them in the midst of the war-time furore; whereas the 1921 marriages are truly postwar, predepression marriages.

<sup>25</sup> See U. S. Census, *Marriage and Divorce, 1887-1906*, 22-23; Willcox *op. cit.*, 5, 50; Cahen, *op. cit.*; *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1937; Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *op. cit.*, Feb. 1939.



In addition to the elucidation of statistical results contrary to popular pronouncement, this study gave indication that, in spite of multiple causation in divorce occurrence and the relativity of the social definition of divorce, at least three theoretical categories or factors are distinguishable: indicated as the situational, the biographical, and the historical aspects of divorce. The last is evident in the apparent geometrical progression of the divorce rate, not merely as a whole but for all durations of married life, the march of which has been halted only temporarily by depressions in the past. Certainly the mores, reflected in the divorce rate, are dynamic both for the newlyweds and those married much longer ago. The biographical category refers to cleavage lines which frequently appear in the duration-specific rates, showing how marriages of a particular year have a greater susceptibility to divorce. Marriages contracted during a period of war-time activity, and after, nicely point up this phenomenon. The situational impact is evident not merely as it affects the over-all divorce rate, but, like the historical bent, as it also affects the divorce rate in each year of duration of marriage. Apparently, the economic situation is the only one which clearly evidences itself here, of which, from the point of severity and immediacy both, the recent economic collapse is an excellent example. But, theoretically, any other sudden change in the cultural situation should manifest itself.

Certainly all this points up the fact that marriage is a dynamic state. While conditions at the time of marriage may be predisposing, changes in life situations after marriage must also be given their importance, and the general trend in the mores recognized in its pervasive yet real effect on divorce occurrence. Stated another way, it is that some marriages are fore-ordained to failure, others fail because of immediate or long continuing changes in social and economic conditions.

## A PSYCHOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE ALCOHOLIC\*

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PSYCHOLOGICAL studies of the alcoholic have been primarily from the psychiatric and psychoanalytic points of view. These studies have been clinical in nature and, except in a few instances, have not represented research. They have been instead the reflections of physicians or psychiatrists upon their cases, rather than any systematic analysis of case records. Among the few exceptions are the studies of Wall<sup>1</sup> of one hundred male and fifty female alcoholics, Wittman's<sup>2</sup> study of one hundred alcoholics and Knight's<sup>3</sup> study of thirty cases. This is not to deny, however, the value of other studies characterized more as reflections upon clinical experience than as research, the most recent of which is that of Strecker and Chambers.<sup>4</sup>

As to the etiology of alcoholism there is a wide divergence of opinion among psychiatrists themselves. In fact, theories applied to chronic alcoholism seem to have run the gamut of psychoanalytic theories and most of these have been those worked out clinically in the field of the neurosis and the psychosis.<sup>5</sup> Thus chronic alcoholism, like drug addiction, has long been associated with the neurosis and psychosis and each development or shift in emphasis in analytic theory has been followed by its application to the problem of the alcoholic.

Thus Abraham, in 1908 developed the psychological relations between sexuality and alcoholism and stated that drinking is the alcoholic's sexual activity.<sup>6</sup> He concluded that sexuality, alcoholism, and neuroses are all interrelated. Juliusberger in 1913 stressed unconscious homosexuality as the cause of alcoholism.<sup>7</sup> In 1919, L. Pierce Clark elaborated upon the conclusions of both Abraham and Juliusberger. Alcoholism, he concluded, is a

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<sup>1</sup> James H. Wall, "A Study of Alcoholism in Men," *Amer. J. Psychiatry*, 92: 1389-1401, 1936, and "A Study of Alcoholism in Women," *Amer. J. Psychiatry*, 93: 943-953, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Mary P. Wittman, "Developmental Characteristics and Personalities of Chronic Alcoholics," *J. Abnor. and Soc. Psychol.*, 34: 361-378, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> Robert P. Knight, "Psychodynamics of Chronic Alcoholism," *J. Nerv. and Ment. Disease*, 86: 538-548, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> Edward A. Strecker, and Francis T. Chambers, *Alcohol: One Man's Meat*, New York, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ralph M. Crowley, "Psychoanalytic Literature on Drug Addiction and Alcoholism," *Psychoanalytic Rev.*, 26: 39-55, 1939.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Abraham, "The Psychological Relations between Sexuality and Alcoholism" *Selected Papers*, London, 1927.

<sup>7</sup> Otto Juliusberger, "Psychology of Alcoholism," *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. 3, No. 1, 1913. Abstract in *Psychoanalytic Rev.*, 1: 469, 1913-14.

substitute for neurosis and psychosis.<sup>8</sup> In 1925, Sachs characterized drug and alcoholic craving as a compromise between a perversion and a compulsion neurosis.<sup>9</sup> Weiss<sup>10</sup> in 1926 and Kielholz<sup>11</sup> in 1931 showed the relationship between the taking of toxic drugs and paranoid psychoses in which occurred delusions of being poisoned. In 1928, Weijl showed the importance of the Oedipus complex in the analysis of alcoholism and asserted that in drinking there is identification with the father orally (cannibalistic destruction) and attainment of the mother.<sup>12</sup> Chambers in 1937 noted an underlying neurotic condition that makes alcoholism possible in certain individuals—an alcoholic compulsion neurosis.<sup>13</sup>

It was not until recently that there has been any systematic attempt to study the personality characteristics of alcoholics. Since alcoholism was thought to be related to the neuroses and psychoses, then it would logically follow that the alcoholic has some or all of the characteristics of the neurotic and psychotic individual. What these characteristics are, however, is not specifically revealed. In these earlier studies, there are little or no research findings which would give support to the hypothesis that the alcoholic is psychopathic, since no attempt was made to study his personality and background.

Wall's study marks the transition from theorizing about alcoholism as a phase of psychopathic behavior to an attempted analysis of the alcoholic's personality. He found in the family background a doting, over-solicitous mother and a comparatively stern, forbidding father. This produced in the child a feeling of insecurity and helpless dependence, combined with a high percentage of alcoholic excess among the preceding generations. Emotional immaturity or instability, infantilism, passivity and dependence, pathological jealousy, oral eroticism, and latent homosexuality, were characteristic personality traits. Dr. Walter Miles<sup>14</sup> gave greater emphasis to the hypothesis of homosexuality, pointing out that the traits described by Wall resemble in several respects the homosexuals described by L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> L. Pierce Clark, "A Psychological Study of Some Alcoholics," *Psychoanalytic Rev.*, 6: 268-295, 1919.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Sachs, "The Genesis of Perversions," *Int. Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, vol. 9, No. 2. Abstract in *Psychoanalytic Rev.* 16: 74-76, 1929.

<sup>10</sup> E. Weiss, "The Delusion of Being Poisoned in Connection with the Process of Introjection and Projection," *Int. Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 12: 466, 1926. Abstract in *Psychoanalytic Rev.* 19: 90-92, 1932.

<sup>11</sup> A. Kielholz, "Giftmord und Vergiftungswahn," *Int. Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, vol. 12, No. 3. Abstract in *Psychoanalytic Rev.* 19: 85, 1931.

<sup>12</sup> S. Weijl, "On the Psychology of Alcoholism," *Psychoanalytic Rev.* 15: 103-104, 1928.

<sup>13</sup> Francis T. Chambers, "A Psychological Approach in Certain Cases of Alcoholism," *Mental Hygiene*, 21: 67-78, 1937.

<sup>14</sup> Walter R. Miles, "Psychological Factors in Alcoholism," *Mental Hygiene*, 21: 529-548, 1937.

<sup>15</sup> L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles, *Sex and Personality*, New York, 1936.

Generalizations in terms of such extensive traits as have been said to characterize the alcoholic, however, do not seem warranted. In the present writer's research with domestic discord cases, it may be said that many persons with domestic discord display some of these same traits but they cannot be classified either as psychopaths or homosexuals. However, the significance of Wall's study lies not so much in its content as in representing one of the first systematic attempts to study the personality of the alcoholic.

The studies of the alcoholic thus have tended to over-simplify the problem. Causes have been either in the form of data on isolated factors or so general as to apply to other groups of persons including the nonalcoholic. Furthermore, studies have not been comparable. It is impossible to compare analyses of data because of differences in fundamental background and premises, as well as differences in technique and scope. This has been complicated further by the fact that in some instances there have been no specific statements of techniques.

The purposes of this study were: (1) to make an analysis of the personalities of alcoholics in such a way as to reveal the basic reaction patterns which determine their adjustment to the social milieu; (2) to get at the genesis of the attitudes which constitute the personality; (3) to compare the personality patterns of the alcoholic with another group studied and classified as the escape-response type;<sup>18</sup> (4) to compare the alcoholic with a second group studied and classified as showing no personality disorganization.

Case studies of all three groups were made in a comparable way as to frame of reference, interviewing technique, elements of personality genesis and development, social interaction, and later family adjustment. Each group consisted of twenty-five married individuals and their marriage partners; comprising, therefore, seventy-five cases, or one hundred and fifty individuals. None of the marriage partners in either of the three groups showed any personality disorganization. The basis of distinction between the alcoholic and the nonalcoholic was the fact that chronic drinking of the alcoholic constituted a part of his pattern of social maladjustment. Contacts were maintained with each case for an average period of three years, affording ample opportunity for checking upon the reliability of the analysis. Each analysis was made upon the basis of an extensive body of materials obtained through a series of firsthand interviews in response to the desire upon the part of the patient to have the assistance of the writer in the understanding and solution of some problem of personality or of domestic discord.

<sup>18</sup> This type is characterized by the habitual use of illness as a substitute adjustment device in the hope of reclaiming and reinstating a social relationship developed in early family interaction and emotionally satisfying to the individual. More detailed descriptions of this type may be found in Harriet R. Mowrer, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord*, New York, 1935.



This analysis has been restricted to twenty-five case studies in each group in order to make it possible to study and compare three groups of cases.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this comparison is to bring out more sharply the factors in early familial interaction which differentiate the alcoholic personality pattern from other types of personalities. Without such comparisons, as past experience has demonstrated, there is a tendency to look upon common factors as definitive of a particular type. Methodologically, the following procedure is equivalent to the use of a control group in statistical analysis without the attendant loss of the organic unity which characterizes the relationship between etiological factors.

Since this is a case-study analysis, quantitative results wherever utilized have been expressed in qualitative terms and introduced only as they are related to and consistent with the larger organic pattern which can only be portrayed in qualitative language. Quantitative statements, however, may be found in footnotes, but the reader is cautioned against interpreting these data too exactly since the number of cases involved is too small to insure statistical reliability.

In the analysis of the personality pattern, the following factors were assumed to be significant: (1) psychogenetic characteristics, including attachment to parents, rank and role in the family, relationship to siblings, marital adjustment of parents, etc.; (2) the physical pattern; (3) the cultural background, including education and early work history, vocational adjustment, intellectual, and artistic interests, etc.; (4) social and economic adjustment; (5) the sexual and response pattern, including early attitudes toward sex, sex education, sexual experiences prior to marriage, marital adjustments, nature of close attachments carried over from early family group, and the like; (6) cultural setting and circumstances surrounding the first appearance of the behavior which became the basic pattern of response, such as drink, gambling, "illness," attempts at suicide, etc.; (7) later family adjustment, including type of marriage partner, conflict and accord, history of role in the home, attitude of children, and so on; (8) rationalizations.

*Psychogenetic Factors.* What effect ordinal position has upon familial interaction is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, research has shown that the earliest role of the child in the family has a far-reaching effect upon his life organization and type of adjustment pattern. It is generally accepted that

<sup>17</sup> There is no magical significance to the number twenty-five, but earlier experience of the writer has shown that where extensively developed case studies are utilized, the addition of ten or twenty more to a comparatively sizable group such as this does not essentially change the pattern. The number of additional cases is bound of course to be limited by the enormous expenditure of time required for making them complete and accurate. Thus the writer has found that the minimum time required for a study of seventy-five such cases is a period of three years. Cf. Harriet R. Mowrer, "Clinical Treatment of Marital Conflicts," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2: 777-778, Oct. 1937.

it is usually to a peculiar set of family circumstances that one has to look for an understanding of these reaction patterns.

Several writers have portrayed the alcoholic as more likely to be the only or youngest child. Another has attached no significance to ordinal position. It would seem that ordinal position is of no significance except to the degree to which it may be a factor in determining role. Thus in our culture, the youngest child is more likely to be the favorite and his infantilism is more likely to be prolonged. Witness the number of youngest children still referred to as "Baby," "Junior," "Angel," and so on, by their parents! However, any child in the family, because of various peculiar circumstances, may have the role of the "youngest."

In the cases in this study, the alcoholics in ordinal position clustered around next to the oldest, youngest, and next to youngest.<sup>18</sup> As to role, it is significant that none of the youngest had the role one usually thinks of as typical of this group. The most significant factors in familial interaction, however, were a dislike or hatred for the father, a marked dislike or jealousy toward a brother thought to be favored by the father, a strong attachment for the mother or a sister who in turn favored them. If one can draw any conclusion here, it would seem ambiguity in role is what characterizes the alcoholic—a role in which his status is superior and assured in relation to some members of his family and uncertain and challenged in relation to others.

Comparing the group of alcoholics with those characterized by escape-response through illness, one finds a clearcut distinction. In the latter group, all are either youngest children or have the role of the "youngest." Here the typical family configuration is: favorite of both parents, close attachment of siblings, protection from early responsibility, and no challenge to "favorite" role. Since women constitute the larger number of this group, one may question the validity of comparing all men with a predominantly feminine group. Perhaps the sex of the child is an important factor in the determination of role. With this hypothesis in mind, the escape-response-through-illness group (predominantly women) were compared with the wives of the alcoholics as to ordinal position and role. Here there was a striking difference, the wives of the alcoholics showing a preponderance of oldest and "middle" children.<sup>19</sup> In comparing the alcoholics with the group showing no personal disorganization, this same striking difference was borne out with both the men and the women although the men in this latter group showed a larger proportion of oldest children than did the women.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Of the 25 alcoholics, 9 were next to the oldest; 1, middle; 7, next to the youngest; 6, youngest; and 2, only children.

<sup>19</sup> Of the 25 wives of alcoholics, 17 were oldest and middle children.

<sup>20</sup> The ordinal positions of the men were: 16 oldest, 5 middle, 1 in-between, 2 youngest, and 1 only; of the women, 10 oldest, 1 next to the oldest, 6 middle, 1 in-between, 3 next to the youngest, 1 youngest, and 3 only.

With the overwhelming preponderance of oldest children in the group showing no personality disorganization and the presence of no "oldest" in the disorganized group under observation, it would seem that one can logically conclude that there must be a definite relationship between adjustment and ordinal position or role in regard to the oldest child.<sup>21</sup> The oldest child usually has the role of one who is taken for granted as conforming to the traditional role of the child, whatever that may be for the particular cultural group. For example, in one cultural group this may mean carrying on the profession or trade of the father even though it may not carry with it a great deal of prestige. Thus in general the American farmer has wanted his oldest son to be a farmer. In another group, it may not mean carrying on the trade of the father, but that glorified by the particular cultural group. The Jewish tailor, for example, does not wish his son to carry on his trade, but dreams of his being a learned man, a lawyer, or a doctor. Many an Italian immigrant laborer, likewise, dreams of producing a Caruso.

The relationship between adjustment and the middle child, while not as striking, is significant. Here he, like the oldest, is more likely to take his position for granted and to demand less recognition for himself than do persons in other ordinal positions.

Of undoubtedly more significance than ordinal position, but closely related to role, is the pattern of family relationships in the so-called organized group, which is characterized by a lesser degree of attachment toward either parent, in some instances, even by extreme detachment, fewer instances of preferential treatment by either parents or siblings, and little or no marked jealousies. In other words, the members of the organized group (predominantly "oldest" and "middle" children) seem on the whole to have accepted the roles assigned to them without conflict and those roles seem not to have conflicted with the rights of others. The result was that theirs were roles which could be maintained without conflict in later interpersonal relationships outside the family.

As to marital adjustment of the parents of the alcoholic group as compared with the group showing no disorganization, there is little significant difference, domestic discord occurring slightly less frequently in the alcoholic group. The parents of the escape-response group, however, show a higher degree of marital adjustment. It is interesting to note that the fathers of the alcoholic group are less often alcoholic than those of the non-alcoholic "organized" group.<sup>22</sup> This would be contrary to the belief that an alcoholic nervous system is transmitted from one generation to the other, about which there is little known.<sup>23</sup> It would more nearly agree with the con-

<sup>21</sup> Combining both sexes in the cases in which there was no personality disorganization, out of 50 individuals, 26 were oldest children.

<sup>22</sup> Three fathers of 25 alcoholics were alcoholic; 7 fathers of the 25 "organized" males.

<sup>23</sup> The experimental work on animals as to the physiological effect of alcoholization of parents upon the progeny is not conclusive when applied to human beings.

clusions of Knight of the Menninger Clinic who did not find alcoholism in the family background as a constant factor and is doubtful that there is an inherited predisposition.<sup>24</sup> The most significant factor suggested, however, by the finding of more alcoholic fathers in the nonalcoholic group is a cultural one. Alcoholism may have a different meaning to the individual reared in a home where a parent is alcoholic. It may be to him a symbol of erratic behavior, shiftlessness, unhappy home life, etc. To the others, the symbol may be the traditional one of masculinity, virility, and strength.

*Cultural Background and Economic Adjustment.* The alcoholics show a wide range in cultural background from the clergyman's son to the son of the laborer. In this regard, there is no significant difference as compared with the "organized" group. As to economic status, the "escape-response" group is significantly higher than either the other groups. Educational background is not essentially different except for a few instances of expulsion from school in the alcoholic group. The alcoholic group is characterized by considerable shifting in occupation, restlessness, dissatisfaction with occupation, and lack of definite drive. The "organized" group shows greater occupational stability and less ambitious aspirations. The alcoholic's background, like that of the "escape-response" type, shows more evidence of reading of an intellectual nature. More of the alcoholic group have artistic interests and when asked what they would most like to have been, the typical reply was, an artist, a musician, or an inventor. This might be said to bear out or throw more light upon Strecker and Chambers' hypothesis that the alcoholic's standards are higher than the average.

*The Sexual and Response Factor.* As has already been pointed out, the association of the sexual factor and alcoholism has long been accepted. This has for the most part taken the form of indicating the relationship between homosexuality and alcoholism. Theories have been read into fragmentary factual data on certain behavior reactions of the alcoholic, in an unwarranted fashion. For instance, it has been pointed out that men drink exclusively with men and that this is indicative of a latent homosexual trend. Men, of course, did drink almost exclusively with their own sex during the saloon and prohibition era because of the cultural taboo against women consuming hard liquor. Since repeal this is no longer true. Thus the more plausible explanation of the practice of males drinking with each other is the cultural pattern, rather than organic homosexuality, and this is further borne out by the heterosexual relationships of the alcoholic with the prostitute.

Another evidence of latent homosexuality is said to be that men become affectionate with men friends and swear undying friendship while under the influence of alcohol; but they also become quarrelsome and pugnacious

<sup>24</sup> Robert P. Knight, "The Psychodynamics of Chronic Alcoholism," *J. Ner. and Ment. Diseases*, 86: 538-548, 1937.



to their best male friends as well as affectionate toward their female drinking companions. There is no behavior reaction here which may be said to be typical. Again it has been observed that most alcoholics have been married and divorced or have had domestic discord which illustrates their characteristic maladjustment with women. That separations and domestic discord are prevalent among the alcoholics there is no doubt, but it is rather ridiculous to contend that this is in itself evidence of homosexuality.

In the writer's study, it was found that an overwhelming proportion of the alcoholics had sexual experience prior to marriage. In the "organized" nonalcoholic group, less than half had such sexual experiences.<sup>25</sup> What can be the meaning of this difference? Since alcohol and brothels have long been associated, and since in several instances the sexual experience had been with prostitutes, one may raise the question as to whether this relationship might not have furnished the social situation for the onset of the drinking. Such a connection was not borne out, however, as none of the subjects either directly or indirectly linked the two together. Furthermore, the age at first sexual experience was invariably given as several years earlier than the onset of the drinking. Both, it is true, are symbols in our culture of masculinity and strength. Perhaps the only conclusion that one is justified in making here is that there is significant evidence that the alcoholic group showed to a much greater degree the urge or necessity for trying to establish through overt expression their strength and masculinity than did the other groups.

The question then may be raised as to how consistent is this behavior with the personality pattern, the genesis of which, as has already been shown, is in familial interaction. Here the alcoholic's status was ambiguous—superior to some, challenged by others. It is only logical to believe that it would be the more favored role the individual would endeavor to maintain and therefore be more demanding than could ever be realized in adult interpersonal relations. Thus his status continues to be threatened, and as the needs for defense expand, he becomes more dependent upon those transitory symbols by which the desired status is achieved.

The transitory character of these symbols of status toward which the alcoholic tends to gravitate is illustrated by the fact that in many instances the individual has made other attempts at maintaining status, and as one has failed he has tried another. Thus one may cite the behavior of Mr. A. who had the typical familial background which has already been presented. He took up boxing, was successful, happy, and adjusted for the period that he was known as "Riley the Fighting Irishman." When he was no longer able to maintain this role, he began drinking and later became a chronic alcoholic. Other cases show a sequence of sexual exploits, gambling, and then alcoholism.

<sup>25</sup> Of the 25 alcoholic men, all but two had had sexual experience prior to marriage, whereas only 12 of the 25 "organized" men had had such experience.

*Marital Adjustment.* That marital discord is not the result of alcoholism but that both are the result of the same etiological factors, research has demonstrated. This is not to say, however, that the domestic discord does not take on a characteristic pattern which is closely intertwined with the behavior of the alcoholic personality. The alcoholic tends to enter marriage handicapped by some economic insecurity, dissatisfaction with occupational choice, restlessness, and a tendency to resort to substitute adjustment devices. As a husband, his position in the family becomes an inferior one. His feelings of inferiority are reflected in the sexual relationship and his husband role becomes further complicated through chronic alcoholism by actual physical or psychological impotency. Intense jealousy of the husband, excessive sexual demands (which cannot be realized), with frequent sexual practices at variance with the normal, are found to be characteristic of this type of case.

Comparing the groups studied, it is found that the alcoholics seem to have placed more of a premium upon sexual potency than do the men of the other groups and this was borne out by statements of the wives as well. While various types of sexual maladjustments characterized both groups, there were more instances of extremely sexually inhibited wives in the alcoholic group than in the "organized" group. These findings might lead to much speculation as to the use of alcohol as a substitute for sexual relations. However, the women in the escape-response-through-illness group show a characteristic pattern of sexual inhibitions, yet no cases of chronic alcoholism were found among their husbands. This would suggest accordingly, that the factor in itself is not significant but may be of considerable importance when viewed in relationship to the many other factors which go to make up the total pattern. That is to say, the alcoholic husband seems to feel keenly that his difficulty at sexual adjustment with his wife is a challenge to his ego, role in the family, or the like.

*Drinking and the Cultural Milieu.* In any analysis of the personality of the alcoholic, one must keep in mind the cultural milieu. Accordingly, the reasons men give for drinking and the circumstances surrounding it are in themselves of little scientific value. The alcoholic no more than the person experiencing domestic discord can give unaided the real causes of his difficulty. What he gives is the cultural definition of the situation, that is, those causes approved by the culture of his group. In our culture, such happy occasions as weddings, births, sudden good fortune, etc., call for and furnish excuses for drinking. Likewise, sorrows occasioned by death, financial reverses, disappointments in love and marriage, etc., are crisis situations which can be met and conquered by alcohol, the magic medicine. It keeps those happy who are already happy and makes the sad happy again. Wine is often the symbol of fruitfulness, and drinking to one's health is interpreted as expressing the wish that the life principle in wine may do him

good. Alcohol, likewise, is supposed to make the shy become bold and the weak strong. It has long been associated with masculinity and sexual prowess. Quite consistent, then, are the reasons given by the alcoholics: "I drink to make me happy"; "I drink to forget my troubles"; "When I drink I feel like a man"; "Drinking helps me to make a sale"; "Drinking helps me forget that I have no wife"; and so on.

Here, of course, the alcoholic does not distinguish between normal drinking and chronic alcoholism. The average individual probably experiences a satisfying glow and a feeling of contentment and happiness as the result of an occasional drink. But does this average person experience the same reaction in solitude as in the company of friends? This suggests a more general question: How much of the effect attributed to alcohol is due to the physiological response of the organism and how much to the social-psychological setting? This is not to deny that alcohol, particularly the chronic use of it, does not have any effect upon the physiological processes and psychological functions, but this paper is not concerned with this aspect.

It is doubtful, however, whether the chronic alcoholic experiences the oral satisfaction of the occasional drinker because he is inclined to drink hurriedly; in fact, his drinking often takes on the appearance of the performance of a ritual. While it is generally conceded that inhibitions are released through liquor, there is a wide variance as to how people behave under its influence. Not all shy persons become bold nor do all persons become happy. Many become sad and despondent; others, taciturn and unsociable; still others remain unchanged while under the influence of liquor. While the chronic alcoholic may say drinking enables him to meet his business associates and put across a deal, the clinical history may show this not to be the case. Alcohol, while it may increase sexual desire, decreases ability at performance, so in reality can hardly be said to increase sexual prowess. Thus it would seem that the chronic alcoholic is in a paradoxical situation. Rather than having been betrayed by his mother through the nursing experience, as some psychoanalysts have contended, he has instead been betrayed by his culture which has held out to him a false panacea for his problems.

*The Alcoholic Personality Pattern.* It seems apparent that the behavior of the individual under the influence of liquor is not as significant for an understanding of the alcoholic as has been believed in the past. What is more important are the attitudes of the members of his family toward him as a consequence of his alcoholism. The importance of these subsequent attitudes is suggested by the fact that, like the "neurotic" woman, he does not want to be cured of his social handicap.

Instead of slowly ruining his life, as the portrayals of the influence of alcohol would have one believe, the alcoholic, through his drinking, achieves satisfactions which he can realize in no other way. As an aftermath to his

drinking, his role becomes equivalent to that played in earlier familial interaction. While some members of his family are disgusted with him, strict in their attitude, consider him an "inferior," a problem, etc., there are others who pamper him all the more, give him unlimited attention, always believe in and fasten hope upon his determination and pledge to "throw away the bottle." Even his wife, vacillating as is her attitude toward him, while inclined to criticize him, yet expresses sympathy and a maternal feeling for him.

How the alcoholic achieves the limelight as a consequence of drinking is illustrated in all the attention which he subsequently receives. Family conferences are held; plans are worked out to help him resist the temptation to drink; new inducements are offered him; and in general he occupies the center of the stage. Thus, for example, a program is worked out by the family requiring him to report each day to a sister, or a wife may meet him at the close of the day's work and thus protect him from the influence of drinking companions. The consequences are that the subsequent exemplary behavior under this regimen convinces those concerned that a cure has been effected. The moment the scheme is abandoned, however, the alcoholic relapses into drinking. Obviously, the cause of the relapse is not that new crises have arisen or that his former drinking companions have reasserted their influence, but that he no longer receives the attention which he got under the regimen of supervision. Observing the collapse of his attention-consuming role, he again reinstates it through another drinking debauch.

How deceptive may be the immediate circumstances surrounding drinking may be illustrated by the following incidents. In one case, the alcoholic became drunk instead of appearing at the funeral of his brother. In another, he failed to go with his children to the hospital to see his wife, becoming drunk instead. At first sight, it would appear that drunkenness in each instance represented an avoidance of the sorrow and pain involved in these circumstances. More thorough analysis, however, revealed that the first person's relationship with his brother had not been such as to call out any deep sorrow and that the second quarreled recurrently with his wife, accusing her of infidelity, as a projection of his own sexual impotency. The more plausible interpretation of both instances is that each was a rebellion against the attention given to another member of the family. The subsequent attention which each received as an aftermath of his drunkenness confirms this interpretation.

Thus it becomes clear that the behavior of the alcoholic cannot be understood except with reference to the basic pattern of personality developed in early familial interaction. Alcoholism provides a way of recapturing at least temporarily the attention-receiving role of the early familial group. This recapturing of the childhood role, however, is much more the after-



math of drinking, than something which is obtained exclusively under the influence of liquor.

The consequence is, that in order to understand the alcoholic, it is necessary to keep in mind this basic pattern of personality. The moment segments of behavior are detached from the total configuration, the picture becomes distorted. In this distortion, single factors are considered causes of alcoholism with little realization upon the part of the researcher that these factors may have a wider application than the alcoholic, or if not, that they are but part of a larger causal complex. Methodologically, therefore, the paramount need in the study of the alcoholic is to see his drinking behavior as a part of the larger pattern of personality disorganization.

Like other forms of personality disorganization, therefore, alcoholism can only be understood as it performs a function in the attempts at social adjustment of the individual. That the consequences of excessive drinking are such as to be only temporarily satisfying, and therefore represent what from an objective viewpoint is inadequate, is of no importance in the understanding of the behavior. What is of importance is the fact that for the moment at least this type of response is within the range of possibilities set by the pattern of personality for the achievement of what to him seem to be essential goals. So long as alcoholism works, he uses it, and when it breaks down, he is likely to abandon it for other devices within this range, or else becomes enmeshed in an ever-increasing drive to make it work until the personality becomes wholly disintegrated.

This does not mean, however, that there are no questions which remain unanswered regarding the character of the alcoholic personality. Of paramount importance in the clearer differentiation and understanding of the alcoholic is the need for comparing more thoroughly this type of personality with other significant types of unadjusted personalities. In any case, the present analysis provides a frame of reference within which comparisons can be made from the psychocultural point of view.

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## TRENDS IN THE SOVIET TREATMENT OF CRIME\*

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**I**N 1936, the Soviet Government promised a new All-Union criminal code to replace the individual codes existing in each of the seven Republics which made up the Union at that time. As yet there has been no new code enacted, but there has been published a considerable number of articles revealing the outline of the code to come. Writers have not limited themselves to a discussion of technical details. They have reexamined basic theories set forth twenty years ago when the first statement of policy relating to criminal law was adopted.<sup>1</sup> Among the subjects most vigorously discussed is the treatment of criminals, and it is the purpose of this paper to review some of that discussion, together with the statistics indicating trends in the treatment of crime in the U.S.S.R.

To provide the base from which the trend may be surveyed, one must recall the Soviet attitude toward crime, as first expressed over twenty years ago by theorists occupied in formulating the principles under which a new state was to be governed. Men of this period often declared that criminals were made—not born. They derided those who believed that there was a criminal type, and they documented their own point of view by emphasizing that criminals came most often from the economically depressed classes. The conclusion was drawn that most crime is the product of want and misery. Property crimes were looked upon as a manifestation of the desire for self-preservation, while crimes of violence were diagnosed as a form of protest against a system which called forth the hatred of the desperate poor. In the light of such an analysis, Soviet leaders considered that their fight against crime would be well on its way to victory as soon as their economic system became established and proved successful, for they believed their economic system designed to eliminate poverty and suffering.

One must remember that Bolsheviks have tinged their idealism with realism, and even the early ones realized that habit patterns are not changed in a day. Soviet sociologists argued that criminal habits, developed under the stress of one form of society, may be carried on into a new form of society even when the economic reasons which gave them rise no longer exist. Elimination of criminal habits and manners of thought was the task of the new Soviet criminologist, and his major tool was to be education. The impoverished criminal elements were to be taught that everyone could and should support himself by work which was to be ample for all.

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<sup>1</sup> Collection of Laws, R.S.F.S.R., 1919, No. 66, Art. 590.

Although principles such as these were uppermost in the minds of early Soviet leaders, the first years after the Revolution gave them little chance to try out their theory. Civil war and foreign intervention reduced the country to a state of chaos and penury hard to imagine for those who have never seen Eastern Europe. Crime flourished, and not solely because of poverty. There were still thousands who opposed the new régime, resorting to violence in protest against a system they heartily disliked.

With the passage of years characterized by poverty and strife, and the entry upon years of peace, in which there was a restoration and further development of industry and trade, the major emphasis of Soviet criminologists was turned toward rehabilitation. The Revolutionary Tribunals created to enforce severe penalties against those believed to be endangering the very foundations of the new state were eliminated.<sup>2</sup> The secret police continued its efforts to uproot those who were caught or even suspected of counterrevolutionary efforts, but the rank and file of the multinational people which is the Soviet Union was to be the laboratory for experimentation in the field of rehabilitation, with the result that the Soviet Union attracted wide interest, with its progressive outlook upon problems in the field of criminology.

Soviet law teachers taught that the word "punishment" was to be eliminated from the statutes, while the word "prison" was nowhere to be heard.<sup>3</sup> Soviet penologists denied to foreigners that prisons existed even for the most hardy recidivists. Soviet theorists began to talk of the early "withering away" of the state, and they drew the conclusion that law as an instrument of oppression would soon disappear. Writers began to speculate upon the form of a society in which the only offenders would be persons in need of education or medical care. The final years of the 20's were indeed exciting for those who were trying to peer into the future and foretell the likely developments in the field of criminal law.

By the early 30's, a change had come over Soviet thinkers. It is unnecessary at this point to review the reasons which have been given for this change. The result of it was that Soviet theorists began to argue that changed internal and external conditions demanded a rethinking of the role of the Soviet state and of the functions of law enacted by the law-making bodies of that state. Stalin set the keynote of this change of thought when he declared that the tasks of the state were such that the state must be stronger than ever and law, as its handmaiden, should be precise and rigidly enforced.<sup>4</sup> Only if these rules were followed did it seem possible, according

<sup>2</sup> See Judiciary Act of 1922.

<sup>3</sup> For a review of the theories of this period, see John N. Hazard, "Reforming Soviet Criminal Law," *J. of Crim. Law and Criminol.*, 29: 157-169 (1938).

<sup>4</sup> See *Political Report to Sixteenth Party Congress* (1930), 2 J. Stalin, *Leninism* (Eng. ed., Internat. Pub., N. Y.) 342.

to Stalin, to achieve socialism and advance to the more distant goal of communism.

When Communist Party leaders demanded a more robust state and a more rigorously enforced law, the lesser folk who translate major planks of policy into concrete fact began to rethink the major premises on which they had been operating. They were told that a horizon narrowed by war, and the fact of encirclement by capitalist powers were factors with which they must reckon in shaping their policy as to the treatment of criminals.<sup>5</sup> They set about their task of reshaping programs and redrafting laws with vigor, and those who could not keep up or disapproved were dropped by the wayside and often denounced as maliciously impeding the measures taken by the state to protect its very existence.

Readers of Soviet literature of twenty years ago will recall that Soviet writers looked upon the thief, the bandit, the embezzler, the smuggler, or the counterfeiter as a misguided soul who had not yet learned that he need no longer rely upon his criminal skill to obtain a livelihood. Since those early days, much has happened in the economic and social development of the Soviet Union. Leaders frequently assert that unemployment has been eliminated, and that anyone who wants to work can earn a living. Standards of living have risen, and education has been widely disseminated. Official statistics indicate that crime has decreased markedly with improvement in economic and other conditions. From 1935 to 1937, the total number of persons convicted of crime throughout the Soviet Union had dropped 28 percent, while in the R.S.F.S.R. the reduction in the same period was 58 percent. Greatest progress toward reduction of crime was recorded in the classes of crime related to destruction or theft of state-owned property. Convictions for these offenses dropped 89.3 percent throughout the Union from 1933 to 1937. Least progress was shown in the sphere of property crimes touching upon privately owned property, which were reduced by 27.2 percent throughout the Union in the same period.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the marked reduction in crime, criminals are still apprehended, and it is being said that the reason for crime must be something other than what it was under capitalism and under the privation of the early war-torn years of the Soviet régime. Two graduate students of the Leningrad Juridical Institute have recently written<sup>7</sup> that the thief, the bandit, the embezzler, and the counterfeiter retain their criminal profession because they hate work. These offenders are looked upon as parasites. While the young writers admit that there may still be cases of larceny and embezzlement committed under the pressure of extreme need, they hold that the mass of

<sup>5</sup> See J. Stalin, *Political Report to Eighteenth Party Congress* (1939).

<sup>6</sup> See B. Mankovskii, *Questions of Criminal Law in the Transitional Period from Socialism to Communism*, Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo (1939), No. 3, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> See P. Denisov and M. Merkushev, *The Draft of the Criminal Code of the U.S.S.R.*, Sovetskaya Yustitsiya (1939), No. 3, p. 4, and No. 4, p. 5.

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cases are those in which there appears to be a tendency toward professional criminal activity, and for these criminals they demand vigorous punitive action in keeping with the realization that criminals of this nature are elements foreign to the working class. Criminals of this type are looked upon as parasites, and the young writers urge that the new criminal code include a special section for crimes reflecting a parasitical tendency, the new section to be headed "Crimes against the Principle of Toil in the U.S.S.R."

It would be unfair to say that the interpretation placed upon crime by the young graduate students is the sole interpretation to be found in legal circles in the Soviet Union. There are thoughtful middle-aged men who are also puzzled by the continuation of crime in a society in which there is no longer unemployment, but they do not jump to the conclusion that the majority of these criminals commit crimes merely because they do not want to work. Some of these men talk in terms of hangovers of bourgeois mentality. Others do not profess to know the answer, but they are telling each other that serious thinking must be done on this problem before a new policy can be enunciated. They continue to argue, as they have always done, for a more general application of the lighter, rehabilitating forms of penalty which remain the law as long as the present criminal codes are not superseded by the new All-Union code.<sup>8</sup> These writers decry the tendency of the courts to apply the more severe penalties while the codes still provide a choice which includes lighter penalties.

The choice of penalties open to Soviet judges is set forth in part in Article 20 of the 1926 Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and it runs from warnings and fines to banishment, compulsory labor in labor camps, or imprisonment. By Article 21, there is added as "an exceptional measure of social defense," the supreme penalty of shooting. In subsequent articles, the code provides for conditional sentences in the form of a suspension of the sentence pending good behavior for a certain specified time, and conditional release before the expiration of the sentence under a system of parole.

Many of these forms of punishment or social defense have fallen into complete disuse. No longer are citizens deprived of their citizenship and banished from the U.S.S.R. This was a penalty which was of value only so long as persons who had worked all their lives for revolution looked upon banishment from the scene of their hopes and struggles as the worst kind of penalty, and only so long as enemies banished abroad could not be of service to outside elements seeking to use disaffected persons in their efforts to unseat the Stalin government. All of the other penalties on the list remain in use, although often not in the manner which early leaders expected.

Lenin sounded the keynote of the early period. He wrote in February, 1919, that there must be greater use of the privilege of suspending sentence,

<sup>8</sup> See Gelfer, *Conditional Sentence and the Draft of the Criminal Code of the U.S.S.R.*, *Idem* (1939), No. 6, p. 32.

of the penalty of public reprimand, and of the favorite of Soviet penologists—the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. Of recent years, the trend appears to have been away from these milder forms. Unfortunately, the statistics for most recent years have not yet been published in detail. Taking the recent sketchy figures with more detailed reports for early years, and with the articles of writers in Soviet legal periodicals who demand a return to the less vigorous policy advocated by Lenin, one gets the impression that, as the total number of criminals diminishes, the remaining criminals face courts which have been showing an inclination toward the more severe forms of punishment which make up in immediate protective qualities what they lack as long-range rehabilitative factors.

Statistics showing the distribution of sentences for the years 1928 to 1934 in the R.S.F.S.R. are as follows:

TABLE 1. FORMS OF PENALTIES IN THE R.S.F.S.R., IN PERCENTAGES<sup>a</sup>

Types of Treatment	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Suspended sentence	7.3	3.4	2.7	4.1	1.1	1.2	1.4
Deprivation of freedom							
To one year	25.6	3.8	1.8	1.9	1.5	0.7	1.4
One to three years	3.9	5.9	6.2	9.1	10.9	11.5	12.7
Three to five years	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	2.7	4.5	4.6
Over five years	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	3.8	12.3	7.0
Total*	31.2	11.7	9.6	12.6	18.9	29.0	25.7
Correctional labor	22.0	50.8	56.9	57.5	54.2	49.7	56.9
Banishment from populated areas with or without obligation to live in specified place	—	1.6	4.5	7.3	3.9	4.3	0.5
Fines	31.0	26.7	17.1	13.1	12.2	7.2	5.3
Public reprimand	2.6	4.4	6.0	4.2	3.7	2.2	2.2
Deprivation of civil and other rights	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.08	0.06
Other measures	0.1	0.4	2.5	0.9	5.84	6.3	7.9
Freed from punishment	5.6	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.06	0.04	0.02

\* These totals are of the item "Deprivation of freedom" only. They do not include "Suspended sentence."

As is made clear by these tables, the tendency toward deprivation of freedom has been increasing, but the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty has also retained much of its popularity with Soviet judges. This latter penalty has long been used as a means of punishing the delinquent while leaving him in the current of his daily life so that he may make use of the opportunity of continued employment to reestablish himself as a law-abiding citizen. In essence, the penalty is a mild one, and has

<sup>a</sup> This and the subsequent table are taken from A. A. Gertsenson, *Sovetskaya Ugolovnaya Statistika* (Moskva, 1937), pp. 211-212. The value of the table is marred by the fact that the columns do not in all cases add up to 100 percent.

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been hailed as indicative of the emphasis of the Soviet penal policy upon rehabilitation rather than punishment. A sentence of this nature provides that the person so sentenced shall work at a specified place, usually the one in which he was employed at the time of committing the crime, for periods ranging up to a year. During this time, the employer must deduct a fixed percentage from his wages, as defined in the sentence. The labor union officials are also to be notified, and it is expected that the criminal will be subjected to some measure of social censure. During the term of the sentence, the person under sentence is not allowed credit toward a pension or toward increases in wages which occur periodically in accordance with the length of time spent on the job.

A similar table brings the figures up to 1935 for the entire U.S.S.R. It reads as follows:

TABLE 2. FORMS OF PENALTIES IN THE U.S.S.R., IN PERCENTAGES, 1935

Types of Treatment	First Half Year	Second Half Year
Suspended sentence	7.1	7.3
Deprivation of freedom		
To one year	0.8	1.4
From one to three years	19.3	20.5
From three to nine years	13.5	15.7
For ten years	1.9	1.8
Total*	35.5	39.4
Correctional labor	50.2	46.2
Fines	5.0	5.0
Other measures	2.2	2.1

\* "Deprivation of freedom" only; does not include "Suspended sentence."

The table for the R.S.F.S.R. has recently brought the totals nearly up to date, as follows:<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 3: FORMS OF PENALTIES IN THE R.S.F.S.R., IN PERCENTAGES

Types of Treatment	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938 (1st half year)
Deprivation of freedom	25.7	36.3	39.3	44.6	38.4
Correctional labor	56.9	50.1	46.8	40.4	43.7
Other (fines, etc.)	17.4	13.6	13.9	15.0	17.9

Examination of the mass of material appearing in the Prosecutor's journal may throw some light upon the trend of thinking of Soviet jurists as regards the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. The

<sup>10</sup> See B. Mankovskii, *op. cit.*, *supra*, Note 6 at p. 94.

controversy was opened by one of the most popular *Dotsents* in the Moscow Juridical Institute who wrote<sup>11</sup> that the aspects of social censure were no longer present, for in many cases the fellow workmen in the factory did not even know that sentence had been passed. He also argued that courts followed developments so little that persons under sentence moved freely from job to job, the only restriction being that they were required to notify the employer at the new job of his duty to deduct part of the wage at the source and pay it over directly to the officers of the court. Because of this situation, it was argued that the only feature of importance left to the penalty was the deduction from wages, which amounted to nothing more than a fine paid by installments due on each pay day. The argument of the *Dotsent* was supported by a writer who declared that he wrote from five years' experience as the chief of a bureau whose task it was to supervise persons sentenced in this manner.<sup>12</sup> He reported that supervision had generally become unimportant and that it would be better to replace this hybrid penalty with an out-and-out fine, or with a decree suspending sentence, during a probationary period.

While these men were criticizing, a heavy attack was leveled at these critics for failing to appreciate the real extent of social censure involved.<sup>13</sup> The critics were found to have erred in failing to evaluate correctly the very real loss which resulted to a person prevented from counting his time at the job while under the sentence in qualifying subsequently for a pension and for promotion. Of recent months, the editors of the Prosecutor's journal have indicated their approval of the penalty,<sup>14</sup> and there is every indication that it will appear among the penalties provided for in the new All-Union code. The approval of the editors represents a victory for the retention of penalties fitted in principle to the rehabilitation of criminals. At the same time, it has been indicated by the critics of the present system that in practice the penalty has lost its features as originally planned and has become a punishment in the form of an installment fine. Time will tell whether the practice of the courts bends to the goading of the theorists who have risen in defense of a program which was suffering under the carelessness of the judicial and administrative authorities.

Writers also indicate a trend away from the suspended sentence which was looked upon in earlier days as an integral part of the program of rehabilitation.<sup>15</sup> Present codes provide that the period of suspension may be set for from one to ten years without regard to the length of the sentence

<sup>11</sup> See T. V. Menzhagin, *Compulsory Toil at Place of Employment*, *Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost* (1938), No. 12, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> See F. Freidus, *Compulsory Toil at Place of Work and Employment*, *Idem* (1939), No. 6, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> See series of articles in *Idem* (1939), No. 3, pp. 82-84.

<sup>14</sup> See Editor's Note, *Idem* (1939), No. 5, p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> See Gelfer, *op. cit.*, *supra*, Note 8.



suspended. If a new crime is committed during the probationary period, the suspended penalty may be added to the penalty for the new crime, provided only that the total amounts to not more than ten years. If no crime is committed during the period of suspension, the person under sentence is rewarded by having his criminal record removed from the books. The draft for the new criminal code indicates the desire to retain this form of rehabilitative measure, and adds a new provision under which a court may commute a sentence before the period of suspension is over if a state or social organization so petitions. This principle was inaugurated in 1932 by an order of the Supreme Court, but according to the testimony of Soviet writers, it has rarely been used.

Courts are found to have shown a tendency to overlook the possibilities of rehabilitation inherent in the system of parole permitted by present codes. Under present law, a criminal may be released on parole only if the administration of the place of confinement petitions for his release and the court decides that the petition should be granted. The conservatism of the courts is best illustrated by the facts of a case which one writer<sup>16</sup> finds typical of what is going on at the present time.

One S. was sentenced by the Leningrad Regional Court at the end of 1936 for misappropriation of funds received by him in his official capacity. Sentence included deprivation of political and civil rights in addition to confinement for four years. It was also stated in the sentence that S. was an element foreign to the best interests of the working class. The history of S. indicated that he had been in trade during the N.E.P.; that he had later moved to a Collective Farm and from there to Leningrad to work in a state factory, at which place during his six years employment he had been cited for good work and received a certificate of honor. When arrested, he was put under guard immediately and never given a chance to prove his good record of recent years. He was confined, the sentence being subsequently sustained by the Supreme Court of the Republic.

While in prison, S. developed ulcers of the stomach. The medical examiner recommended that he be released, but the court refused to do so, giving as its reason lack of a showing that the malady could not be cured in confinement, and the serious nature of the offense of which S. had been convicted.

S. had served for over two years before the administration itself recommended release on parole. The court again refused to release S., but ordered that his good work in the place of confinement be rewarded by the creation of an account in which he should be credited for the wages he was earning. After S. had served two years, six months and seventeen days the chief of the place of confinement came personally before the court to testify on S.'s behalf and ask for release on parole, but the court again refused to release him, giving as its reason the serious character of the crime.

The writer who sets forth the case gives it as an example of the severity and unreasonableness of the court in failing to make use of an important provision of the code, and a plea is expressed for a change of attitude. A suggestion is made that the new All-Union code make release mandatory

<sup>16</sup> See A. Liberman, *Parole, Idem* (1939), No. 6, p. 50.

on recommendation of the administration of the place of confinement, rather than permissive as is now the case. Again there appears a tendency away from leniency on the part of the courts, while the writers urge a return to the rehabilitative spirit of the original codes.

While Soviet writers have counselled leniency in connection with suspended sentences and parole, they have taken a different approach with regard to the permissible maximum of periods of confinement. Until recently amended, present codes provided a limit of ten years upon periods of confinement. The next most severe penalty was death in cases of extreme danger to the state. It was often argued that rehabilitation could be effective only if terms of confinement were comparatively short, and if there were to be dangerous persons who were incapable of rehabilitation within the period of ten years, society would have to protect itself by shooting them.

Events culminating in the tension of the past three years have caused a change in policy. The result has been a lengthening of the period of confinement for crimes of espionage, wrecking, and so-called diversion, to a maximum period of twenty-five years.<sup>17</sup> It has been explained that the change in the law was occasioned by a desire to make possible a penalty other than death for persons who were at the same time obviously too dangerous to imprison for the comparatively short span of ten years, and yet not such ringleaders of opposition that they deserved death. There have been indications that Soviet leaders consider that enemies of the régime who appear at this late date after the revolution can hardly be fitting subjects for a program of rehabilitation, and the government can do nothing but put them in a place remote from society during a period sufficiently long to eliminate the danger which might be occasioned by their early release.

The swing toward the extension of the maximum term for periods of confinement has met the whole-hearted approval of writers in the press. It has been accompanied by a return to the use of the word "prison" in referring to the places in which criminals of a dangerous nature are confined. It is now even provided under a law of 1936<sup>18</sup> that the penalty for some crimes may be "imprisonment." The tendency has developed toward characterizing the thinning ranks of present-day criminals not as misguided citizens driven by want and poverty to crime as a means of keeping alive or as a form of social protest, but rather as incorrigible dissenters, oftentimes encouraged in their criminal activity by foreign agents seeking to embarrass, if not overthrow, the Soviet government.

The most severe penalty, shooting, is not often discussed in the legal periodicals of the Soviet Union. Statistical tables do not isolate the figures

<sup>17</sup> Law of October 2, 1937, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1937, I, No. 66, Art. 297.

<sup>18</sup> Law of August 8, 1936, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1936, I, No. 44, Art. 370.

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applicable to this "supreme measure of social defense," as it is called in the code. It is impossible to tell whether there has been much greater use of the penalty during recent years than in the past. Indications in the Soviet Union itself are to the effect that many of the persons rumored shot are merely removed from centers of population and placed in mining camps in Siberia or collective farms in Central Asia. While no published records are to be found to indicate the attitude toward this form of penalty, some clue as to its importance is to be found in suggestions for the drafting of the new code. The present codes refer to the penalty as a "temporary" measure to be used until eliminated as a form of penalty. Under suggestions for the new code, the word "temporary" has been omitted, although there is still retained the admonition that the penalty is to be considered exceptional and shall be used until eliminated.<sup>19</sup> The change in phraseology may be only the work of a linguist. No move has appeared to eliminate the exception to the application of the death penalty, i.e., pregnant women and youths under the age of eighteen. This fact indicates that in spite of certain assertions to the contrary in the United States, the death penalty has not been extended to juvenile delinquents by recent legislation.

The attitude of legislators and courts toward the problem of the juvenile delinquent recently has been made unusually clear by virtue of considerable legislation and numerous reports as to the experience of courts in applying this legislation to the youthful offenders. Under the law of April 7, 1935,<sup>20</sup> minors from the age of twelve years may be subjected to the usual penalties if they are convicted of larceny, rape, bodily injury, mutilation, murder, or attempt to murder. Hearings are before the regular criminal courts rather than before the children's tribunals previously existing. By virtue of the exception to the article relating to the death penalty, the child is in fact exempt from punishment under the most serious of the penalties of the code. Along with the new criminal laws, the state has made an effort to enlarge upon the institutions providing for the care of children, and has passed laws strengthening parental authority so as to eliminate crime among juveniles.<sup>21</sup> It is this aspect of current legislation which must be contrasted with the severe laws if a complete picture of present policies is to be had.

During recent years, the problem of juvenile criminal rowdyism (called hooliganism in Soviet terminology) has been found increasingly serious, and courts have been asked to increase the penalties. It has been reported that the result has been the following: Of the young hooligans convicted in 1934, 16.9 percent were sentenced to deprivation of freedom. In 1935, the

<sup>19</sup> See M. Avdeeva, *Types of Punishment in Present Criminal Legislation and in the Draft of the Criminal Code of the U.S.S.R.*, Sovetskaya Yustitsiya (1939), No. 9, p. 9, at 14.

<sup>20</sup> Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1935, I, No. 19, Art. 155.

<sup>21</sup> See John N. Hazard, "The Child Under Soviet Law," *Univ. of Chicago L. Rev.*, 5: 424 (1938).

percentage deprived of freedom rose to 42.4 percent, and in the first half of 1937, the figure was 65.3 percent, while in the first half of 1938, it was 66.2 per cent.<sup>22</sup>

It may be seen that courts are no longer exceptionally lenient with juveniles, although they try to handle the situation in a manner suited to the facts of each case. In a trial attended during the past summer in Moscow, a judge was heard to give a lecture to the two youths before the court on the lack of necessity for crime now that work was to be had for all, and the youths were asked what penalties they would suggest. No suggestion was brought forward, and in sheer desperation the busy court sentenced the two boys to another year in the camp from which they had been released only two days before committing the crime of larceny for which they were arraigned. It was obvious that the solution was not satisfactory to the court, but there appeared to be no other suggestions which could meet its approval.

Reviewing both the practice of the courts and the theory of the jurists, it appears clear that precise determination of present tendencies is as yet impossible. There seems to be discernible, however, a trend on the part of courts toward penalties which bear less relation to rehabilitation than used to be the case during the first decade after the revolution. This fact must be considered, however, in the light of the greatly reduced number of criminals, and the changed social and economic conditions. While courts have shown an increasing preference for severe punishments, mature writers have urged retention of principles designed in the main to further a program of rehabilitation. Younger writers have evidenced an inclination to treat most criminals as parasites and class enemies who commit crime because they will not accept the proffered opportunity to earn a living by toil. While older men question this analysis of the situation, both old and young unite in demanding severe penalties for the individual who sets out on his criminal activity with the avowed intent of injuring the state. No sympathy is being shown for persons implicated in activity of a seditious nature.

If the new All-Union code is formulated and enacted during the present period of crisis, it will undoubtedly reflect the tendency toward severity which has been appearing in the practice of courts and the writings of the jurists. Such a result would probably be understandable, but it would indeed be disappointing to those who have hoped for a real test of a policy centering largely about rehabilitation. Perhaps more disquieting than apprehension of the effect of war conditions upon criminal law is the effect of the approach found in the young writers, who have been referred to in this paper. Their plea for severity in penalties bears no relation to war. It will apply in peace time as well as war time, and if it is universally adopted, it may mean the end of experimentation upon new lines.

<sup>22</sup> See *Court Practice in Cases of Hooliganism*, Sovetskaya Yustitsiya (1939), No. 12, p. 25.



## THE PRISON AS A COMMUNITY\*

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A SITUATIONAL explanation of crime calls for a situational approach to prevention and treatment. As sociologists, we are not true to the logical implications of our science if we recommend individual treatment as the only solution of penal ills. If the function of a prison is to protect society, the convict must learn, during his period of incarceration, how to live in society. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of the major obstacles which prevent the present-day American penal system from performing this function and to indicate changes in administrative policy to overcome them. The concept of the prison as a community is the guiding principle for this analysis.

The prisoner comes from a community and, after an average stay of two and one third years, will return to a community. If he is to be accepted as a law-abiding person on his return, he must learn in prison to play the role of a citizen. He cannot learn those things that will enable him to participate as an acceptable member of the outside community, if he is engaged in activities that are foreign to people on the outside. If the prisoner learns on the inside, that to fit in with institutional routine, he must walk close to the wall, this will not help him on the outside. In fact, it may mark him as peculiar.

We are aware of the real difficulties in the way of fundamental reforms. Unless there is a dramatic escape, a bloody riot, or a "mass whipping," as reported recently at San Quentin, the press and the public are apathetic. J. Edgar Hoover's vigorous defense of the "machine-gun school of criminology" with its hatred of "slimy criminals" and its belief in long prison terms as the only means of punishment and his pungent attacks on "the cream-puff school" with its "moo-cow sentimentalities" and its faith in rehabilitation have swung the pendulum of public opinion in this country in the direction of a hostile attitude toward the offender and away from an attitude of inquiry. It is our conviction, however, that the punitive attitude has been adequately tried and found wanting. The most promising method of progress is through experimentation. Why not, for example, make a sincere attempt to save money for a higher salary level and a better quality of personnel by housing a larger proportion of carefully selected prisoners in the less expensive minimum security institutions? Furthermore, why not make "the prison as a community" the guiding concept for administration?

As it is, the present-day American treatment of men in prison reminds us of the relations between lions and their trainer. The function of a trainer is

\* Presented to the American Sociological Society at Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1939. This paper was also published in the *News Bulletin* of The Osborne Association, Feb. 1940.

to make his beasts respond to the crack of a whip. Although the lion goes through his set of tricks every day, the trainer has found that he must always be on the defensive. He is never so certain of the complete friendliness of the beast that he does not have a chair in his hand or a pistol in his pocket. Likewise, when imprisoned men are treated as beasts, they either sink into apathy or stir up rebellion.

In penal institutions as they are today, the constant hostility between guards and inmates is one of the major obstacles in the reformation of prisoners.<sup>1</sup> The division into "cons" and "screws" (guards) in prison society is even more basic than the Middletown dichotomy into workers and business men. This conflict situation helps to explain the widespread lack of sympathetic and understanding relationships between guards and convicts. Low pay and long hours do not attract a high type of custodial officer. Hence, the most important link that prisoners have with the outside world, their contact with guards, yields little social profit.

Just as the Southern cotton plantation during slavery times exhibited a sharp division into two major groups, the white masters and overseers on the one hand and the black and brown slaves on the other, so also does the American prison. The process of socialization, for example, is twofold. This dual process will be discussed in the following paragraphs as a concrete illustration of the two social worlds in prison society. Achieving a status and role in the world of guards is one thing; in the prisoner group, another. Tannenbaum describes a guard showing every sign of fear and lack of ease in the beginning, who, nevertheless, within two months, had become the most uncompromising officer in the institution. Nelson reports that it is a social error for a prisoner to be seen talking to a guard. For both staff members and convicts, the roles they are expected to play have been defined by their respective groups and wide deviations are not easily tolerated.

The politically appointed warden may give the new officer a book of rules and a speech about proper behavior. Then the deputy warden, who, like the foreman of a plant, has the responsibility for running the institution, will probably emphasize the maintenance of discipline and the avoidance of disorder. To achieve this end, he urges the new man to "put them in their proper place at all times." When the guard comes back to the dormitory after his first day on the job, his fellow officers give him additional advice—often phrased in lurid folk language. As in the outside community, these definitions are frequently conflicting. In the absence of a special training school, the new guard must work out his own policy by trial and error.

The "fish," or new prisoner, undergoes an experience analogous to that of the new guard. He, too, meets the deputy warden and is advised: "Keep your nose clean and you won't have trouble." In his conversation with

<sup>1</sup> The method used in our study of the Washington State Reformatory, with data on the attitudes and connivings of convicts, has already been set forth in "The Prisoner Community as a Social Group," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, June 1939, 4: 362-69.

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other officers of the classification committee, lip service may be given to the ideal of reformation. The prisoner does not live with the officers, however, but with his fellow convicts. They tell him very definitely what he is supposed to do as a con. Since they are the people with whom he eats, works, sleeps, and talks, he will naturally try to adjust by "getting along." As Riemer has pointed out: "If an inmate desires favorable status in the opinions of his fellows, he must adopt patterns of behavior in line with their culture."<sup>2</sup> Riemer, a voluntary prisoner, by swearing at an officer and being ordered into solitary confinement as a punishment, won wholehearted inmate approval. In perhaps no other social world do men "watch each other and study every gesture and action" as they do in prison. The first-timer is tested and rated in a variety of ways. If he happens to draw a "rat," or informer, as a cell-mate, this will not help his reputation. He probably knows nothing about conniving when he first comes, but he soon learns. As Halfpint told Stanley in the *Jack Roller*: "Don't antagonize the guards; hate them all you want to, but work them for your own good."

Inmate "politicians" play a role in prison similar to that of their prototypes in a corrupt city government. As in the outside community, they must grant favors in order to hold their position and yet they are frequently hated for their self-seeking attitude. The "right guys," on the contrary, can always be trusted to remain loyal to their fellow cons. Clemmer found that "being right" was the essential and most admired trait of prison leaders. A prison mythology, Riemer reports, plays a role in defining the mores for the newcomer. Remarkable escapes, great strikes and riots, and tales of outstanding men are included in these stories.

In the normal community, conflict tends to be adjusted by "accommodation." Eventually the fusion of opposing cultures results in "assimilation." In the prison community, the chronic hostility between cons and screws—to some extent an extension of the progressive conflict between criminals and police on the outside—may lead to superficial and temporary forms of accommodation, but rarely to assimilation. Deciding to "make the best of it," the new prisoner usually undertakes some form of self-culture. As he adjusts to the dull monotony of prison life, however, there is likely to be a "decline of profitable reflection" and a weakening of the attempts at self-improvement. Daydreaming becomes more frequent. "Prison stupor" or becoming "stir simple" are common end results. As the prisoner grows "con-wise," however, he learns that things denied him by the prison administration may be available through conniving. These *sub rosa* activities provide variety, help break the deteriorating monotony, and constitute another type of accommodation.

How important are these characteristics of the prison community for

<sup>2</sup> Hans Riemer, "Socialization in the Prison Community," *Proc. Sixty-Seventh Ann. Cong. Amer. Prison Assn.*, 1937, 151-55. See also Donald Clemmer, "Leadership Phenomena in a Prison Community," *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, March-April, 1938, 28: 869-72; and Victor F. Nelson, *Prison Days and Nights*, New York, 1932.



later careers? Is the common conception of prisons as schools for crime justified? In general, it is our conclusion that the conventional prison situation is the antithesis of the normal community and does not prepare for it. Monotonous routine, sex starvation, lack of self-direction, and isolation from law-abiding culture patterns do not rehabilitate. They demoralize.

More than a hundred years ago, English writers recognized that prisons were ineffective in helping offenders to become law-abiding citizens. Recent studies tend to confirm this view. Any changes in the point of view, activities, and ethics of parolees as compared with "fish" seem to facilitate recidivism rather than reform. Prison may have taught them to be more careful—to stay away from thin ice. "Don't be too elaborate with the 'come-on' schemes, if you are using the mails." True, the idea that reformatories are the "high schools" and penitentiaries, the "colleges" for the criminal world is somewhat erroneous. It gives the impression that the training in crime provided by prisons is formal. In reality, this training is very informal. Just as in conversations with friends in various vocations on the outside we frequently pick up bits of information that we later use, so in prison it is natural for convicts to talk about the things that they have done. Under the present type of administration, there are few other subjects to discuss. As a result, status may be gained in the prisoner group by tales of exploits in the field of crime or sex. After "graduation," the parolee may have a sincere desire to go straight, but in a critical situation—no job, no money, no food—crime techniques unconsciously acquired provide many suggestions.

Institutional services sponsored by the staff are in general too formal, rigid and superordinated to provide training for community life. The real objective for the administration is maintenance. Providing housing, food, clothing, and work for the inmates tend to become ends in themselves rather than means for preparing the men to return to outside communities. The work program may be called "trade training," but such skills as are acquired can seldom be used on the outside. Present educational programs in prisons are largely stereotyped replicas of the conventional educational organization. They are neither adapted to the prison situation nor are they designed to prepare the convict adequately for the role of law-abiding citizen in a somewhat disorganized outside community.

The following criticism of prison education by an unusually articulate inmate describes what is no doubt a typical experience. It contrasts the wishful-thinking of the prisoner with this disillusioning experiences on parole. It shows the need for a wholesome community life in prison that will encourage inmate participation and develop rather than deaden initiative. Parapole classes that facilitate frank and realistic discussions of such social science topics as the causes of failure in social relations and business, how to find and keep jobs, the competitive character of modern industrial society,<sup>3</sup> would provide a valuable first step in the right direction.

<sup>3</sup> See Joseph S. Roucek, "Experiment in Adult Education at Rock View Farm Prison, Bellefonte, Pennsylvania," *School and Society*, 42: 199-200. See also the social education pro-

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Most of us see the folly of our ways and want to mend them. In fact, the average confined man aims above this; he wants to start from the tape, gain success, be somebody. In his cell, he dreams of this, pictures himself on the upward road; and he takes advantage of the means that are offered—schools and vocational work—to prepare himself. He is encouraged by the prison officials, and the future appears a pleasant picture. The man has infused himself with a spirit like that found at every school graduation. Perhaps his is greater because of the contrast that he sees between his present and his future.

What happens when he is released? After graduating from school, most of us experienced the disillusionment of learning that the world was not our oyster. Unfortunately, the same story that followed his graduation from school is often repeated when a man is released from prison—tenfold worse. If he is fortunate enough to have one waiting, he goes to a job. Chances are that he is untrained for the work. His fellowworkers and his employer know him for an ex-convict and no matter how broadminded the average person outside may be, the barrier or stigma is there, invisible, but noticeable. This is the released man's first shock. And unless his character is coarse and impenetrable or unless he has unusual will power, sooner or later the situation becomes more than he can endure. Result—he leaves for strange fields. And with self-initiative dulled by time spent as a "number," he goes forth to compete against those who have kept abreast of the time. There is only one outcome. But the sense of self-preservation is still as strong as ever in the man. Rackets that he unconsciously absorbed while in prison come to his mind. This time he is going to be more careful.

Let the confined man keep his individuality; keep him in a competitive run similar to that he will meet outside; give him greater freedom in choice of work. Develop a system the aim of which is to free a man not only reformed, but entirely clean of prison. Do not break him while reforming him. Thus fortified, a man will be able to step straight into competition.

If "the prison as a community" is accepted as the guiding principle for administering a penal system, what practical implications follow?

1. Unless he belongs to that small group which is immune to any known method of socialization, the convict definitely must be prepared to play the role of law-abiding citizen in his home community.

2. To achieve this goal, he must participate actively in prison society and gradually develop a sense of social responsibility.

3. Increasing use of the plan whereby selected prisoners are shifted progressively from maximum to minimum security institutions is indicated.

4. Whether vocation or social, education should be more closely adjusted to the actual problems confronting the inmates.

5. To mitigate the present hostility between cons and screws, the staff must cultivate a more informal and cooperative relationship with inmates.

6. The personnel, from the warden down, obviously should be chosen on the basis of merit and for long periods, rather than as a reward for political services.

7. Classification and individualization of treatment can be more effective

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gram of the New York State Department of Correction as described by W. M. Wallack, G. M. Kendall, and H. L. Briggs in *Education Within Prison Walls*, 22-27, New York, 1939; or more in detail by Kendall in *The Organization and Teaching of Social and Economic Studies in Correctional Institutions*, New York, 1939.

tive with a change in the social situation. Inmate participation in government, on the other hand, is more likely to succeed with transfer of defective and psychotic individuals to specialized institutions. The psychiatric and sociological approaches are supplementary rather than competitive.

Success in such an enterprise necessitates a willingness to experiment. In spite of the fact that we live in an age that is characterized by large scale experimentation, the experimental attitude is rare in American prisons. The State Prison Colony at Norfolk, Massachusetts, under Howard B. Gill was an interesting exception. Its primary aim was the reduction of criminality in the individual man. To achieve this aim, Gill developed "a supervised community within a wall." His major contribution was toward the reduction of hostility between inmates and staff. Realizing that it is difficult for a man to be both guard and educator, he made a clear distinction between house officers and watch officers. The former were resident case workers; the latter were responsible for the prevention of escapes. A high wall with a "no-man's land" fifty feet from it helped to make the prison secure. Within this wall, the house officers tried to build a community. Staff members sat in on all meetings of an inmate council and council members sat in on all staff meetings. During the summer, graduate students served social internships as assistants to the house officers. They associated freely with the convicts and provided natural, wholesome contact with the outside world.<sup>4</sup>

Generally speaking, a country gets the kind of prison it deserves. As long as fraud, corruption and disorganization continue to pervade American life, it cannot be expected that prisons will be much better. The prison is a part of a given social structure and tends to reflect that culture. Russia has challenged the world by providing correctional labor colonies that are self-governing, pay union wages, encourage normal family life, and produce graduates who voluntarily return to their "alma mater" to live. No doubt reflecting the increasingly conservative emphasis in the Soviet Union, John N. Hazard reports a recent "... trend on the part of courts toward penalties which bear less relation to rehabilitation than used to be the case during the first decade after the revolution."<sup>5</sup> But whether, in the long run, education or punishment will receive the most attention, the transplanting of penal practices to the United States would be very difficult due to the fundamental differences between Russian and American mores. England, with traditions more like our own, has its Lowdham Grange and North Sea Camp, where the influences on carefully selected young adult prisoners seem to make for rehabilitation. In November, 1933, C. T. Cape, the self-sacrificing and intelligent governor of Lowdham Grange, dictated the following statement to the senior author about a philosophy and methods that exemplify surprisingly well the practical implications of this paper:

There is a definite attempt to make conditions within Lowdham Grange approxi-

<sup>4</sup> For observations during a month's residence at Norfolk in the summer of 1933, see Fred E. Haynes, *The American Prison System*, chap. 4, "A Community Prison."

<sup>5</sup> "Trends in the Soviet Treatment of Crime," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Aug., 1940, 566-576.

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mate those with which the lads will have to contend on the outside. We attempt to eliminate control by central government and to substitute for that, self-control by self-government. Responsibility is thrown on the lad himself. We have abolished parades. A boy does not march to work. He is not taken to a place—he must get there himself.

Payment gives an incentive and a reason for work. Without pay, the boy worked as a prisoner under pain of punishment. He worked to keep his head above water—to avoid trouble. Now the attitude is utterly altered. A man takes pride in his work. The stigma of prison labor is removed. He desires to excel in craftsmanship.

Pay is in the coinage of the realm—not in tokens. The actual amount paid is much less than outside, but the pay is in direct proportion to output and skill.

About two thirds of the weekly earnings are deducted for board and lodging. There is also a small "income tax." The rest is paid in cash. All clubs and athletic activities, including cricket and swimming, are optional and can only be enjoyed by the payment of a weekly subscription. Concerts and pictures are paid for at the door and are optional.

The pay system has introduced responsibility for property. If a boy is careless with his clothes, they are repaired at his cost. If a fellow breaks a window pane, either through negligence or deliberately, it is replaced at his cost. If a boy is not at work by 7:30, he is fined twopence; a second offense doubles the fine. A serious offense calls for a conference with the governor. As a last resort, the boy may be transferred to another Borstal. This occurs in less than three percent of the cases.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada recently recommended the principles embodied in the English penal system gives the Borstals more significance for America. New Haven, British Columbia, a new institution for not more than fifty selected young men from Oakalla Prison Farm, is a promising American experiment in the application of Borstal ideas. Furthermore, the American Law Institute is recommending to its proposed "Youth-Correction Authorities" types of institutional treatment utilizing Borstal methods.

The prison community has been described in this paper both as an actuality and as an ideal. As it now exists there is constant hostility between guards and prisoners; socialization means one thing for guards and another for prisoners; formal education is usually inadequate and ineffective; "training" in crime techniques, although informal, is very effective. When used as a frame of reference for prison administration, it is clear that convicts must learn to live in a community, perhaps at first by transfer to such minimum security prisons as at Wallkill in New York. That hostility between inmates and house officers can be cut down has been demonstrated at Norfolk Colony. The building of a sense of social responsibility is well illustrated by the English experiment at Lowdham Grange. What has been proposed as a practical plan for penal administration appeals to the authors as the logical implication of a sociological analysis. A clear realization of the degenerating influence of our present prison system should encourage more experiments aiming to devise a community for offenders that will actually rehabilitate.

<sup>6</sup> For more details about the English Borstals, see Norman S. Hayner, "English Schools for Young Offenders," *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, Jan.-Feb., 1937, 27: 696-705. See also B. S. Tounroe, "Borstal Experiments," *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct. 1937, 152: 469-73.



## PRISONER OPINIONS ABOUT PAROLE\*

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THE policies of administrators and the principles of professional penologists are oftentimes based upon their conceptions of the attitudes of prisoners. Generally, those conceptions are mere hunches or stereotypes of what, let us say, a first offender, a recidivist, a rapist, or a burglar is like. Knowledge of attitudes based upon complete rapport and scientific methods would particularize many general notions. Such methods might show, for example, that a particular first offender may be more antisocial than many recidivists, that a particular recidivist is sincerely tired of the crime game, that a particular rapist may be a safe citizen if a new sex outlet is provided for him, etc. Similarly, wardens or parole board members may assume that prisoners hold them in fearful respect, whereas study based upon full rapport may show that many prisoners hold many such officials in bold contempt, believing them to be examples supporting the attitude that everyone has a racket. Sorely needed are comprehensive systematic attempts to put the use of attitude hunches on a more nearly scientific basis, giving to penology a precision it has lacked in the past and a consistent, broad foundation upon which to build. During the summer months of 1937 and 1938, the author collected prisoner opinions about parole at the Joliet-Stateville Penitentiary in Illinois.

*The Setting.* The Stateville branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary can be characterized as a large prison of maximum security and of recent construction. At present, over 4000 "improvable type" inmates do "tough time" gazing at a million dollar wall and tramping through a monotonous routine. Untrained political appointees devise dozens of rules to keep all inmates aware that they are there to "do time." Two maxims seem to dominate the penal philosophies of the responsible officials: (1) the primary consideration is the possibility of escape, and, (2) after security is assured, "treat 'em all alike" no matter what the capabilities, needs, or offenses of a man maybe.

As in most prisons, provisions for health, sanitation, and food are inadequate. All the industries are overmanned with inmate help and hundreds of men must "boondoggle" by carrying dirt, bricks, and sand around the yard in little cans and pans. Although "boondogglers" move at a snail's pace, it is assumed that this activity has a tiring effect that is conducive to peaceful sleeping. The most worthwhile aspect of the educational program is that it helps hundreds of men to keep their minds off their surroundings. Religious services perform the same function for those who are not quite so willing to do their own thinking and reading. Finally, a Parole Board

\* Based on a paper presented to the Amer. Sociol. Soc. at Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1939.



bent on the policy of keeping every inmate under indeterminate sentence off the streets until after the 1940 elections, creates in the minds of most men a very marked and unpleasant tension. Altogether, these and other details make a prison in which "doing time is tough."

*Methods of Investigation.* The author, posing as a student interested in the ways of the world, set up his headquarters in the office of the sociologist and actuary. After six weeks of close association, during which convicts became assured of a confidential relationship, they began to give the author their opinions freely and frankly. The opinions were limited to expressions about the various phases of parole, including the determination of sentences by the parole board, the supervision of parolees, and institutional preparation for parole. They were obtained in four ways: by the use of essay-form questionnaires; by the use of an "objective" type questionnaire; by having some inmates write elaborate accounts of their views of the parole system; and by interviews.

*Opinions from an Essay-Type Questionnaire.* After a two months' acquaintance with a very intelligent prisoner, during which time mutually confidential relations were established, the inmate volunteered to find out some of the opinions of some of the men in a certain cell block. He asked fifty men to answer an essay type questionnaire. Thirty-three men responded after they were assured that the answers were to be anonymous and that answering them would possibly do some convicts some good some day. All that is known about the selection of inmates is that those asked to answer the questions were selected at random by the inmate helper and thirteen of those inmates answering the questions had never been on parole. Space does not permit the complete reproduction of the questionnaire. Illustrations of the kinds of questions used are: Do you think supervision on parole will be worth while to you? To other prisoners? To society? Why or why not? How do you think the Parole Board should enforce the rule concerning violations of the parole contract? Do you think the Board is just and fair in the way that it enforces the rule at the present time? Has there been anything in your prison experience which has prepared you to make good on parole? If so, what? What should be done in prisons to prepare a man for better parole behavior? What method of determining sentences should you prefer for fixing the date of your release? Why? What methods do other prisoners prefer?

*Opinions from an Objective Questionnaire.* To contact a larger number of inmates, an objective type questionnaire was devised. It contained six ranking scales, four rather specific essay questions, and forty-eight statements to be answered *Yes* or *No*. Also, an opportunity was provided for the testees to explain further their positions on questions about parole.

The forty-eight statements to be answered *Yes* or *No* were derived from inmate conversations, from interviews, and from statements about parole

published in a parole handbook, *A New Day*. They were rated by 140 inmates according to the Thurstone technique.<sup>1</sup>

Answers to the questionnaire were obtained from three groups of men. Forty-seven men from Cell House "F" filled out the questionnaire at the request of the cell-house inmate clerk. The clerk stopped at cells along the gallery explained that prison officials or parole board members would never know which man answered which question, and that truthful answers might be of help to future convicts. The men were selected at random from those judged by the clerk to have the ability to understand the instructions.

The second group of men were parole violators selected on the basis of their I.Q. rating. Fifty men of average I.Q. or above were asked to come to Cell House "C" by the interne. When all the men had assembled in chairs set up for the purpose, the interne explained that he was a student from the University of Illinois, and that he had come to the prison for the purpose of getting some information. It was the type of information that was usually forgotten about by commissions investigating prison conditions; it was information of the type that would enable students being trained in the universities to get a real picture of what was going on in prisons and on parole; and it was information that had to be honest for the reason that, if trained students are ever going to displace precinct captains and ex-sheriffs as heads of penal institutions, and, if they are to do a better job of managing the institutions than the politicians are now doing, they must have facts and not falsehoods to study. He explained that the answers to the questionnaire were anonymous, that men were under no obligation to fill it out, and that prisoners were the only persons who could give the desired information and therefore every effort by every man would be appreciated and used to add the inmates' chapter to the parole study.

Three men from the group of parole violators refused to have anything to do with the questionnaire. Their reason, they explained, was not that they disagreed with the idea of getting the information, but that their cases were different from the cases of other men. There were things that the parole board could do to them that it could not do to other men. Forty-five men started to write. Thirty-nine men completed their work.

Two factors were used in the selection of the men for the third group. All of them had I.Q.'s of average or above, and none of the group was from Cell House "F." Otherwise, the group represented a random sample. They were given instructions similar to those given the parole violators, and they filled out the questionnaire under similar circumstances. Fifty men were called, two refused to listen to what it was all about, and forty men did a satisfactory job of giving the desired information.

*Accounts of Parole by Articulate Inmates.* During the author's interne-

<sup>1</sup> L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago, 1929.

ship at Stateville, it was almost inevitable that he should meet some articulate inmates. The prison community affords its members many, many hours of leisure—opportunity to think, to read, and to practice the art of self-expression. A few prisoners excel in this art. Three such men volunteered to write elaborate accounts of their experiences and their opinions. All three men were consciously trying to make the best use of the miserable surroundings in which they found themselves. All of them were glad to express themselves when they were assured that no harm would befall them if they did put their thoughts on paper. Several elaborate essays might have been obtained. The number used was limited because of space.

*Interviews.* During the author's internship, he talked to over forty men in formal interviews. After associating with seven inmates for about eight hours a day over a period of eight weeks in a situation that demanded very intimate and consistent relationships, the interne gained the confidence of inmates and certain inmates gained the confidence of the interne. The men selected were friends of the seven inmates or of their friends.

Every man interviewed had assurance from some other convict that anything he told the interne was "all right." Also, it was usually arranged to have the prisoner who recommended another inmate formally introduce that inmate to the interne. With that introduction, the two men retired to some secluded corner or to some vacant room. After a brief exchange of words about anything that they had in common, the interne proceeded to explain the exact purpose of the study and the kind of information he desired. Each interview lasted at least two and a half hours, and therefore there was no attempt to hurry the inmate with a barrage of questions. Every attempt was made to keep the inmate impressed with the value of his opinions by pointing out to him the relationship of his own treatment to the future treatment of other convicts. He was encouraged to continue the trend of his thoughts by continual assent from the interne; and most important, the interne expected nothing from a convict that he was not willing to do himself—to give a frank, honest opinion to the convict if he asked for it. Immediately after each interview, the writer tried to reproduce the general trend of each conversation by recalling the answers of the inmate to a series of questions. The questions were very similar to those of the essay-type questionnaire.

*Findings.* During the six months' association with inmates, the author was able to collect over one hundred twenty-five single-spaced typewritten pages of opinions. That does not include hundreds of "Yes" and "No" answers to statements in the Thurstone scale and dozens of responses to ranking tests. While this is enough material to characterize quite well the opinions of convicts, literally hundreds of pages of worth-while material might have been collected had time and facilities permitted. In the recorded material are hundreds of opinions varying from religiously enthusiastic ap-



provals of prison and parole treatment to scathing criticisms of all wardens and penologists and all they stand for. To summarize or condense such a mass of statements necessarily takes away from that material several of its chief attributes such as the multiplicity of points of view and the little details which give meaning to sweeping generalizations. Lack of space, therefore, permits only such an inadequate summary of the findings.

The Parole Board, to most Illinois prisoners, is an incompetent, untrained group of politicians collecting huge salaries for doing nothing worth while. Dozens of prisoners believe that one can buy his way out of prison by "getting to" certain Parole Board members. This belief was corroborated by the recital of alleged instances of bribery. Several prisoners claim to know a good deal of the personal life of some Board members, and on this basis rate them as a worse menace to society than the men behind the walls. On several occasions, the author observed groups of convicts taking a great deal of delight in watching a colleague mimic a Board member in action. To a very small minority of men, the Parole Board represented an honest lot of men doing their best under the circumstances. Several men dismissed the Board by saying: "Board members are stooges. All they do is to carry out orders from above."

At least three quarters of the men in the entire prison—as judged by the interviews and the short answer questionnaires—desired "flat time" instead of the indeterminate sentence law. One reason for not wanting the indeterminate sentence was because newspapers dictated the parole policies. Because of newspaper pressure, the Board had started the practice of continuing cases—adding from a month to as much as ten years to the time the Parole Board had previously decided the prisoner should serve.

The almost unanimous attitude is that supervision of parole is an unnecessary and obvious restraint. Many of the parole rules seem to almost all convicts definite hindrances to "making good." Being home by nine o'clock, not riding in an auto for pleasure, getting permission to marry, are to convicts unnecessary hardships imposed not for the purpose of helping an ex-convict to be a law-abiding citizen but for the purpose of keeping a man under the watchful eyes of penal authorities—to fill up the prisons as soon as newspapers put pressure on the politicians. It is interesting to note that very few men believe the purposes of parole as outlined in the official handbook for parolees. No general statement can characterize the attitudes toward parole agents. Some agents are thought to be honest and efficient; others are considered useless political stooges; many of them are called "heisters," i.e., they collect part of the wages of their parolees; most of them are held to be incompetent. In general, parole agents represent to convicts a second police force.

A majority of prisoners writing essay type questionnaires believe the prison does nothing to prepare them for good parole behavior. When asked

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if there was anything in prison life which would make men fail on parole, the answer was always long. After a bitter diatribe against sadistic wardens and ignorant guards and their malicious treatment, the general conclusion was that a few years in an Illinois prison is enough to make any man "hold court on the street," i.e., shoot it out rather than to take a chance of coming back to prison. That answer was nearly always qualified by the addition: That is the way prison life prepares other men for parole. Of course, I am not letting dogging guards and the monotony of life get the best of me. I'm going to get into a legitimate racket. But about the other guys, all I can say is that the police had better shoot first.

The attitudes toward guards and officers are often filled with bitter hatred. Wardens are held to get their jobs because they are greedy politicians; guards, because they are too incompetent to get or hold a decent job in outside society; prison physicians, because they had failed in their practices in outside society and had gone into politics to get a job in prison. Most prisoners who admit the prison has changed their minds say that it has given them the resolve "never to be a sucker for Illinois again." Such a negative attitude should not be confused with "reformation." There are prisoners who state that prison life has created in them a desire to "make good." They are usually men who have lost themselves in some fascinating work, or in study, or in religion. Some prison administrations are better than others, according to prisoners. During the author's internship, many "old timers" recalled the days when they had gardens within the walls, when they could do celluloid work, when they tasted a steak once in a while, when the "folks" could bring them a basket, when alcohol sold for two dollars a pint, etc.

From this brief characterization of a few prisoner attitudes, it may be gathered that there is little appreciation by prisoners of society's efforts to "rehabilitate" them, as penologists call it. There are exceptions to that rule in the case of particular officers and particular aspects of the penal program. The general attitude and the exceptions are oftentimes embellished with always vivid and sometimes imaginary stories. Imaginary or not, however, they are very real to convicts. They are social realities with which penologists must deal.

By way of *summary and conclusion*, I will venture a few tentative generalizations and interpretations, realizing that not all of my data have been presented and that several similar and more extensive studies must be made before any very certain conclusions can be drawn.

1. *The Atmosphere for Attitude Studies in Prison.* Overshadowing all other conclusions, amazing to the author, even after having read background material by Frank Tannenbaum, Victor Nelson, Thomas Mott Osborne, and others, was the reluctance of prisoners to speak freely about penal officials and the treatment they provided. Until there was *absolute* assurance of anonymity, almost all prisoners at Stateville Penitentiary felt

constrained to express those opinions which they thought would do themselves the most good individually. They were in a position in which opinions they expressed might affect such an important thing as the number of years they would have to spend in prison. They were in constant fear of "stool pigeons" and other persons who might give "information" to the administrators. These facts, in addition to the administration's policy of discouraging all intimate relationships between convicts and other persons, made the establishment of rapport practically impossible without resorting to practices frowned upon by officials. It became necessary (for sociological purposes) for the interne to become much like convicts themselves—learn to speak about ball games and the weather to "stoos"; to keep in mind always the whereabouts of guards; to speak always in a low-pitched voice; to keep tight-lipped about confidential information such as knowledge of certain aspects of crimes and infractions of prison rules; to speak in the vivid lusty language of convicts; to admit the world was a racket and that internes had their own little rackets which would pay some day! Opinions obtained by persons through legitimate channels, with methods endorsed by the administration, undoubtedly reflect what prisoners think they are expected to say rather than attitudes toward the administration. Only on the condition that opinions are to remain anonymous will they reflect attitudes toward values pertinent to the study, i.e., parole, personnel, etc.

The necessity for preserving the anonymity of inmates concerned in an attitude study itself reflects a basic prisoner attitude. Prisoners fear, distrust, and often hate their jailers. The prison is first of all a conflict situation. Only by convincing inmates that he is not from the enemy's camp, can an investigator discover the attitudes—the real tendencies to act—which he seeks. His task is difficult indeed in the prison as it is today. Yet, granted a prison administration sincerely in conflict with inmates only to the extent of keeping them behind a wall against their will—determined in every other respect to share in the management and responsibilities of the prison community—the task would be far easier. Such an administration would welcome the search for prisoner attitudes, and would use and not abuse them when found. It would see in them the materials out of which to conduct a prison community designed for the reeducation of attitudes and behavior. Our own study has not only revealed prisoner attitudes which need to be changed; it has also uncovered unexpectedly prisoner criticisms which prison and parole administrators might well ponder.

2. *The Truthfulness of the Opinions.* No one will ever know whether the opinions expressed to the interne fully reflect the real attitudes of the prisoners of Stateville. However, there are methods of judging whether the real attitudes and the opinions correlate. First, *the nature of the expressions*, the kind of criticism, proves that excellent rapport existed between inmates and interne. The type of attitudes sought for were of a dangerous kind as

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far as the inmates were concerned. They had good reasons to be very careful about expressing their opinions, but inmates spared no words in condemning and praising prison officials, Parole Board members, and their work.

The judgment of certain persons are a second criterion for estimating the correlation between actual attitudes and the expressions of opinions. An inmate was requested to give his evaluations of the material and the methods used to get the material. Needless to state, this man was selected on the basis of his knowledge of the prison community, his ability to evaluate inmate opinions, and his intimate knowledge of the work of the interne. He wrote about the work as follows:

On the basis of my own experience with parole and with my knowledge of inmates' opinions and their responses to queries made by persons from outside of the prison community, I believe the following statements would apply to the material collected by Donald Rasmussen, who recently completed a parole survey for the University of Illinois. As to the anonymous questionnaire, I believe that the fact that no one knew who was answering the questionnaire made those answers truthful. The inmate body as a whole is fearful of those in authority and is afraid to express opinions unless they are anonymous. As to the objective questionnaires administered in Cell House "C," I believe that truthful answers were given to this questionnaire and that each individual questionnaire expresses the individual opinion of the man that filled it out. In view of the fact that those men were excused who did not wish to fill out a questionnaire, the remainder of the men who stayed did so only because they wanted to express their true feelings. As to the questionnaire administered in Cell House "F," I believe that truthful answers were given to this questionnaire, and that they not only expressed the opinion of the individual who filled out the questionnaire, but, also, of his cell partners as well. I believe that better results were obtained by this type of administering than by the methods used in Cell House "C" because the men had more time to consider the questions. As to the interviewer, not only because the men wished to acquaint an outsider with their feelings and difficulties, but also because they were recommended to the interviewer by another inmate whom they trusted and who advised them to speak the truth. Too, the interviewer is able to judge the consistency of the opinions and is, therefore, able to detect untruthful responses.

Another trusted inmate wrote:

There is no doubt as to the truthfulness of the inmate reactions toward the parole system and the management of the institution. A large majority of answers to the queries express honest opinions.

Intimate conversations with many other inmates further convinced the interne that the opinions elicited by him represent true attitudes. Many times he was assured that he was one investigator who was getting "straight dope."

The third criterion by which to evaluate the truthfulness of the attitudes is by a comparison of the reluctance to give attitudes toward parole with the reluctance to give other information potentially more harmful to inmates. To have administrators know what one thinks of them would have much "milder" consequences than for that administration to know about



infractions of certain prison rules, of the infraction of certain societal laws, of the existence of various kinds of plots and schemes. The author learned such information dangerous enough to warrant his forgetting it in a hurry. In several instances, rapport between interne and convicts was more confidential than between convicts themselves. If rapport was that confidential, then there was great likelihood that good rapport to elicit opinions concerning parole was established.

Finally, the characteristics of the convict opinions elicited were quite similar to those observed by Victor Nelson using a genuine participant observer method. Nelson, in reviewing his years of imprisonment, stated:

Any prisoner who has a good word to say about the food, entertainment, recreation, work, or any other administrative detail, can expect to be tagged with such a title ("administrative prick"), and to be more or less ostracized by the professional group! . . . The prevailing attitude, at any rate, is that it is wrong to admit that the prison officials are right about anything they do: carping criticism is the order of the day—although not one inmate in a thousand would have a worthwhile improvement to suggest in place of the conditions he criticizes.<sup>2</sup>

The author found carping criticism which proves the existence of rapport. The carping criticism was not always of the worthless kind that Nelson observed, however. The difference may possibly be due to the fact that, in the presence of an interne, a convict does not have to adjust himself to the opinion of the herd of prisoners of which he is a part. This influence of possible harm from other convicts is also a very real danger to remember. Hence, in some ways, it is probably very true that the observations of an impartial outsider may discover a more exact picture of prisoner attitudes than that gleaned by those on the inside.

3. *The Practical Significance of Prisoner Attitudes.* A study of prisoner attitudes shows the significant general fact that prisoners, like the public generally, lack a scientific point of view. They are not determinists with respect to the explanation of crime. To the prison inmate, as to the typical judge or lawyer, a criminal chooses his behavior; he might have acted differently had he so desired; he is a free moral agent; he is not a product. Hence, of 103 inmates answering a short answer question, 100 approved the statement that "If a man wants to go good, he will do it with or without a parole system." Yet, like most judges and lawyers, prisoners are inconsistent in their indeterminism. They blame politicians for preventing parole from aiding the convict; they blame and hate the warden, rather than the system which produced him, for the unendurable hardships of the prison community or for his political subservience; they blame the individual guards, rather than the public attitudes which tolerate them, for the unnecessary and stupid discipline which makes automatic puppets of human beings. Hence, the scientific penology of the future must not only sell

<sup>2</sup> Victor Nelson, *Prison Days and Nights*, 123, 124, New York. 1936.



its philosophy to prison administrators and the general public, but also to the criminal population of the prison community which must cooperate if that penology is to be a success.

But what is the significance of more specific prisoner attitudes? None of these is perhaps more important than the almost universal view that every man has a racket—a fact which permits incompetent or even dishonest men to perform important tasks. This view gives the inmate a basis for rationalizing his own crimes. The convict accuses the warden of being a political appointee; the Parole Board of accepting graft, of incompetence even in the use of its two-minute interviews with convicts, of subservience to newspaper publicity, and of inconsistent changes of policy for no reason explained to the convict. The convict accuses the parole agent of clumsy ignorance in handling the most delicate human relationships such as marriage, obtaining a job, and reinstating himself in the good graces of a society which despises him. Some convicts accuse the chaplain of insincerity, or classify his activities as “the witchcraft racket.” Closest to the prisoner is the guard who therefore personifies for him both the incompetence and the hostility of the whole prison regime. The inmate accuses the guard not infrequently of having committed actual crimes on the outside and of sadistic acts on the inside which, to the inmate, are worse than crime. Finally, the more intelligent prisoner sees through the whole silly penal system. He, perhaps, accuses prison officials less for the failings of the penal system than do the rank and file, but he blames society in general for a punishment experience which might, he argues, be justified, were it effective, but which increases and complicates the very problem it is designed to solve.

The discovery of such attitudes was a bit disquieting to the unsophisticated student interne. He may perhaps have once assumed that wardens are honest and effective; parole boards, wise and non-political; parole agents a combination of protectors of society and skilled moral physicians; chaplains, exponents of the Christian ideal; guards, model patterns of integrity, and the whole penal system—imperfect perhaps—but still, the last word in the application of science to reform; but it did not take two summers in Joliet to discover that, on the contrary, there are elements of truth in the exaggerated picture which prisoners have painted of the modern penal system. At any rate, the challenge of prisoner attitude studies is that they demand demonstration of how far there is a factual basis for such critical attitudes. Indeed, he happened to *know* a politically appointed warden, the graduate of a county sheriff's office. He had been told by a guard that the same political “fix” which got him his prison job had kept him from serving a prison term for a crime more serious than those of some of the men he guarded. He had heard the chairman of a Parole Board say that the Board did not desire any more time than the few minutes normally spent in interviewing a parole candidate. He knew of inmates craving good literature

who were excluded by a stupid censorship from access to some of our best periodicals. He had heard from a chaplain himself expressions of disgust for, rather than of interest in, the "soul-saving" task which was ostensibly his.

Not until we can truthfully say to convicts that their views of prison and extraprison personnel are false, can we deprive them of the rationalizations for their own crimes. The attitudes of prisoners demand a convincing answer to the question, to what extent has every man, or to what extent has every administrator, a racket?

If prisoners generally have not much to offer in the way of constructive suggestions for penal reform the reverse is true of a few of them. People generally do not appreciate the following facts:

1. That a prisoner does have a perspective of the penal and parole systems that no one else can get, and, therefore, his expressions are necessary in order to have a complete description of the entire penal and parole systems;
2. That there are prisoners who, even though they are in a position to better themselves at the expense of others by giving false information, do look at penal treatment quite objectively;
3. That often times treatment has a greater effect if those being treated are given an opportunity to participate in the organization and the direction of the treatment;
4. Though opinions of prisoners may be expressions of a minority group, convicts and ex-convicts are a part of society deserving of some special consideration; and
5. That one of the requisites to good citizenship for people generally is also required if one is to make a convict a good citizen—the encouragement of truthful, thoughtful criticism of our existing institutions.

There are men in prison who have constructive suggestions and often-times they are inmates. The writer managed to find several such people. Their constructive suggestions ranged from getting fly-proof lids for garbage cans to demands for a complete change in our whole culture. They suggested dozens of details to make school training more effective, to make the enforcement of discipline more reasonable, to better the quality of food, to make the participation in recreation broader, to improve the effectiveness of parole supervision. The methods they suggested for bringing about an end to their imprisonment varied from a return to Republicanism to violent revolts, in prison and out.

The attitudes of prisoners reveal without a doubt a good many practical problems that penal administrators might well consider. But how about the interne? Were there not prisoner attitudes over which he could ponder? The interne was not immune! Illuminating and troublesome is the following excerpt from the paper of one inmate:

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a receipt of his payment and the assurance that he will not have to foot the bill several times. It is the only type of sentence which can possibly achieve any approximation of justice and of fairness. And paradoxically, it accomplishes this by ruling out of the picture, not the sensational anti-crime editor, or the thief-hating judge, but the pseudo-scientific prison reformer, the criminologist, and all that ilk. These befuddled individuals with their various *isms* come into prison with excellent intentions, but their only contribution to date has been a lot of academic theorizing out of which only hard-boiled "practical" wardens have culled ideas enabling them to hold men longer in prison and to make time tougher. I have never met a professional prison worker who was not a decent well-meaning individual of excellent character, with more than his share of ideals, but by the same token I have never to hear of one who did not manage, in the course of his progress through prison, to injure rather seriously at least someone whom he desired only to help. When efforts become so abortive and subject to result in damage, they should be restrained in whatever way seems indicated. I know of a man here now who is serving life for having stolen five chickens. All the professional men connected with the prison have gone on record to the effect that the man should not have served more than his minimum, but he is doing life because those same professional givers of sympathy devised a system of sentencing and paroling which is completely lacking in governors or safety valves and turned it over to a lot of plumbers to operate, and now that it is being mismanaged, they can think of nothing to do about it except sneak off into a corner and malign "politics." Isn't it rather silly, in a country founded on the mistaken idea that all men are equally entitled to name their representatives, to hear people harping about "politics" being the bane of a prison system? It isn't politics that is wrong with prisons, it is the damn fool ideas dreamed by a lot of impractical theorists, who overlooked the existence of a very ancient entity called human-nature. I fail to see why politics should take the rap for the sins of parole systems. No group of individuals, regardless of whom they be or how they are chosen, could possibly administer satisfactorily such a monstrosity as Parole. The whole concept is a bizarre, distorted, legalistic aberration conceived by book-drunk freaks, administered by scoundrels, foisted upon fools, and manipulated by frauds in bishop's frocks and editorial vizors. It has resulted in the entire judiciary of the nation engaging in the most gigantic confidence-game ever practiced. Through it, juries are swayed into finding "guilty" verdicts upon the false premise that the "parole board will correct any errors that are made." Communities are beguiled into complacent acceptance of penalties that are more atrocious than those that preceded the granting of the Magna Charta; this is accomplished through the constantly reiterated insistence that the "parole board is the guardian of the individual's rights and will see that they are not violated." (The very founders of the horrible system sit back in stunned silence, afraid to open their flabby lips to utter a word of defense when the press screams that 'dangerous criminals are being let loose by "easy parole boards"'.) And while the headlines scream, parole boards cringe and look hastily around for a pair of editorial boots to lick. Prisoners are cajoled into the acceptance of prison conditions vile enough to warrant bloodshed by the administrative threat that 'if you riot it will hurt your chances with the parole board'.

## SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF YOUNG, OCCASIONAL, URBAN MALE OFFENDER IN THE 1930's

PAULINE V. YOUNG

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THE writer has been engaged in a study of the young occasional male offender for the last four years. It will undoubtedly require from two to four more years before the study is brought to a conclusion. She proceeded on the assumption that most of the present numerous studies of criminal behavior were of too heterogeneous and too complex groups to afford insight into the offender's motivations, into the intricate social forces which influence his behavior patterns, into the whole cultural milieu which shape the "content of the mind," the wishes, and the mental conflicts and complexes. It was, therefore, necessary to select for study as homogeneous a group as is consistent with American urban life. The following represents a very brief summary of the procedure in the preliminary statistical study, the case study, the interviewing techniques, and the recording of data.

In order to determine the type and number of factors which predominated among occasional urban male offenders, or in other words, to learn who the occasional urban male offender group were, a statistical study was made of 2000 consecutive case records of all offenders who had applied for probation and whose cases were heard in Los Angeles County Superior Courts in 1933, including cases which were granted probation as well as those which were denied and committed to the state penitentiaries.

Some of the statistical findings were somewhat unexpected. For example, we questioned the large percentage of offenders (57 percent) found to be under 30 years of age; we also lacked confidence in finding that nearly 60 percent of the offenders had been reared at home by both parents; we questioned our finding that 63 percent of the men had completed more than eighth and less than twelfth grade schooling, and so on. For purposes of checking, verifying, and comparing, the writer compiled statistical data from an additional 1000 cases of offenders heard in the same courts during 1938. The table below shows the type and extent of factors which repeated themselves in 2000 cases heard in 1933 (Group I) and 1000 cases heard in 1938 (Group II) in the Los Angeles County Superior Courts.

It is apparent from a methodological standpoint that the statistical study of the additional 1000 cases changed the numerical facts only slightly; that a sample of 1000 cases—all other things being equal—may have been regarded as representative; and that one may proceed with "cautious confidence" in the present findings. The numerical data furthermore revealed that the majority of the cases studied were characterized by the following common factors; that is, these male offenders were, for the most part, (1) juvenile delinquents grown up, (2) under 30 years of age, (3) white,



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(4) Protestant, (5) American-born, (6) of American-born parents, (7) reared at home by at least one parent, (8) of "normal" mentality, (9) of good or fair health, (10) of more than grammar school but less than high school education, (11) nontransients, (12) charged with offenses against property.

TABLE I. TYPE, NUMBER, AND PERCENTAGE OF FACTORS FOUND IN TWO GROUPS OF MALE OFFENDERS WHO HAD APPLIED FOR PROBATION IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY SUPERIOR COURTS IN 1933 AND 1938 RESPECTIVELY.<sup>1</sup>

Factors	Group I, 1933 2000 men		Group II, 1938 1000 men	
	Number of cases	Percent of total	Number of cases	Percent of total
Under 30 years of age	1144	57.2	622	62.2
Birth in United States	1550	75.0	790	79.0
Native-born parents	—	—	691	69.1
White racially	1666	83.3	864	86.4
Protestant	1310	65.5	647	64.7
Reared by both parents (up to age 15)	1188	59.4	569	56.9
Reared at home by one or both parents	1662	83.1	850	85.0
More than 8 but less than grade 12 educ.	1274	63.7	680	68.0
"Normal" intelligence <sup>2</sup>	1812	90.6	924	92.4
"Good" or "fair" health <sup>3</sup>	1908	95.4	953	95.3
Nontransient	1720	86.0	861	86.1
Use of intoxicants	1788	89.4	870	87.0
Use of intoxicants to excess <sup>4</sup>	600	30.0	326	32.6
Charges of crimes against property <sup>5</sup>	1130	56.5	610	61.0
Juvenile court or previous criminal court record	1396	69.8	729	72.9

<sup>1</sup> For a report of the factors found in the 2000 group in 1933, see Pauline V. Young, "Defective Social Intelligence as a Factor in Crime," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1928, 213.

<sup>2</sup> As determined from school records or by the probation department senior psychologist.

<sup>3</sup> As determined by ability to remain steadily on jobs.

<sup>4</sup> As admitted by the men themselves.

<sup>5</sup> Charges of burglary, robbery, grand larceny, auto theft, forgery, and embezzlement.

A later analysis of the young offenders limited to the above factors showed the majority to be unmarried or unattached (68 percent), to belong to semiskilled or skilled trades (82 percent), and to have been arrested while still employed (79 percent).

Upon close scrutiny of these factors, it became clear that further delimitation was not desirable and perhaps not possible. Having at least tentatively determined who is the young, urban, occasional, male offender, at least in Los Angeles County, in the 1930's, a detailed intimate case study of 300 of these men was determined on, limited strictly to the above twelve factors and two additional factors which could not be determined in the statistical study of the records. These additional factors were (1) articulateness and (2) ability to make at least a fair degree of readjustment under more or less favorable conditions or under a controlled environment (perhaps indicating lack of pronounced and/or continuous emotional disturbances).

For purposes of convenience, a group of men were selected who could be interviewed in comparative privacy in the county jail or who were just released from the jail or road camp. This procedure revealed at the time of the study in jail—later strongly substantiated by extensive studies outside of jail—that (1) the offenders' attitudes toward the administration, their own behavior, their criminal processes, and even toward their home and community environments were highly colored by their experiences during incarceration; (2) these offenders often repeated the experiences of their contemporary inmates and confused these with their own activities; (3) these offenders were inclined to dwell to a far greater extent on their conditions in jail, on politics, on stories of inmates than on their experiences and attitudes prior to incarceration; and (4) it was possible to secure the confidence of these men and ultimately much of their "own story."

In view of these limitations, the case study was confined to men who could be interviewed in complete privacy at the offices of the Probation Department a few weeks or a few months after release from jail. (Most of them had served from 6 to 18 months in county jail or at the road camp.)

Several deputy probation officers were selected by the chief probation officer) without whose excellent and intelligent cooperation it would have been impossible to make the study—who would readily cooperate in this research study. These officers, after having been thoroughly acquainted with the selective factors and the logic of this study, asked those offenders who could qualify for the study whether they wished to be of service to a research investigator from the University. These probationers were impressed with the fact that if they were busy or were not inclined to go over the past frankly, they did not have to do so. More than 80 percent of those approached were willing to "take the time if they could be of any service."<sup>1</sup>

It was not necessary to camouflage our purposes, nor to minimize the time and effort required on their part in reliving the past. It was not necessary to agree with any "pet peeves" the man held against the administration or society; it was not necessary to imply that "research is a racket," or to attempt to win confidence by any devious method. It was simply assumed that there were thousands of offenders to choose from and that if the interviewing approach and techniques were correct, skillful, and sincere, we could gain our objectives in a frank, direct, but highly scientific manner.

The writer undertook to interview all of the 300 men in order to mini-

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<sup>1</sup> Of necessity, the probation, court, and police records were of a different type and length than the research interviews, but nevertheless the former afforded a certain amount of verification. The writer also read the institutional records and letters from former employers on file at the Probation Department. She also talked with the probation officer and in some instances with the wife of the offender. Subsequent interviews with these men also afforded considerable verification of previous accounts. In a few rare cases, there were serious enough discrepancies to set the research material aside. So far, no study has been made to determine the cause of such discrepancies: deliberate falsification, misunderstanding, allusions, or wrong interviewing approach.

mize the number of psychological reactions and personal factors as well as to avoid marked variations in the method. When the men were sent by the probation officer to the writer, she again assured them that they were under no obligation to submit to this lengthy and intimate interview, that by so doing it would neither help them nor hinder them in their probation period. If they did agree to the interview, it was highly desirable to go into intimate experiences frankly and honestly, "everything from one's love life, his bank account, to one's reaction to California." In a word, the desirability was impressed upon them of turning one's mind and heart inside out in order to understand the complexities of a single life pattern. However, they were reassured of their freedom to reveal as much or as little of their "spiritual private property" as they saw fit since few direct questions would be asked. The more they were assured of this, the more eager they were to "tell everything." They only asked to have their names changed, should their stories appear in print at any time. (Most men wanted to know how they could identify themselves in such a case. A fictitious name was assigned to them.)

At the beginning of the interview, it was explained that the interviewer was not primarily interested in the offenses committed but in the long processes, in the varied series of circumstances, which led up to the offense. This explanation gained for her much rapport. The following factors seemed to impel the men to talk: (1) a certain satisfaction in talking about self to a sympathetic listener; (2) desire to be of possible service to others; (3) satisfaction in being chosen for study; (4) possibility of understanding their own situations better after an exploration of their lives; (5) stimulation by the import of the study and the sincerity and frankness of the interviewer. The approach was highly democratic; the interviewer often took the men into her confidence and readily answered their questions about her position, her personal life, her children, and her work. When she asked questions, she explained her reasons and the logic behind the procedure.

Because of lack of space, we cannot reproduce here even the general or the major points which were suggested to the men as desirable topics in the interview. The interviewer confessed that she understood little of the real motivations and the complex causal factors of criminal behavior. She stated: "We know, however, that a man does not commit a crime out of a clear blue sky. There must have been a series of circumstances both in the environment and within one's self which led to the offense. We, therefore, would greatly appreciate learning what the circumstances were. We do not like to ask many questions as our very questions may influence your thinking. The burden of the interview actually rests with you. But here are some points which we like to suggest. We are not interested in a mere account of conditions and experiences, but in your reactions to them. We don't want just a personal history regarding your home, your school life, your work, your associates, your offenses, and your sentence, but what these experiences *meant* to you and what effect they had upon your life at the time and

upon your life at present. We want to know the situations which made you feel good or feel bad, the persons who influenced you, the persons who *made* you go to school, or go to work, or *made* you do things, and so on." The length, the simplicity, and the frequency of the explanations varied with the degree of the man's articulateness, his intelligence, complexity of experience, and freedom from tensions during the recounting of the life stories.

Generally the men talked at great length on one particular phase of their lives, with only occasional brief questions from the interviewer. Little effort was made to control the amount and type of detail or "tangents" they chose to dwell on, until the interviewer felt that she understood the men's traits, *types* of details, or "pet peeves" they chose to voice. It was necessary, however, to guide the interview in the relating of the various phases of their experiences and the roles of such experiences in their lives. One question was frequently repeated: "How do you account for such and such acts, ideas, or attitudes." There was a general tendency at the beginning of the interview either to avoid a reply or to reply with a brief "I don't know myself," or "I just don't understand it." The men were not pressed for a reply, but as they gained insight into their own problems, as they grew and developed with the objective recounting of their experiences and reactions, they were able to explain—and often quite adequately—the factors which may be regarded as contributing to their behavior patterns. Their own explanations at times astonished them but generally convinced them more strongly than had any one attempted to do it for them. On the whole, the realization of their ability to explain, at least in some measure, certain aspects of their behavior was very stimulating to them, and the idea of a "scientific inquiry" greatly appealed to them. Some of them found "helping in research" a great adventure.

The interviewer often took brief notes during the interview but in such a manner that she did not take her eye off the face of the interviewee. At the end of a prolonged interview, she generally asked the man to help her jot down a few notes of "all that was covered in the interview." Before each man left and another interview was started, fairly complete notes and catchwords were jotted down on the major details of the life history secured. The same evening the complete life history was either dictated to a stenographer or written out in long hand by the writer. At her leisure, she edited these life histories which vary in length from 10 to 40 pages. The interviews lasted from three to seven hours.

The study is still in process. An attempt will be made to secure similar data in other parts of the country before war hysteria greatly changes the cultural milieu in this country. A study of a control group of men and their families is already under way—using the same selective factors as in the study of the offenders. We seek to understand what cultural forces, processes, and relationships produce organization and disorganization.

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## MALE AND FEMALE BROKEN HOME RATES BY TYPES OF DELINQUENCY

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THE broken home generally has been assumed to be associated with juvenile delinquency. Since 1912, when Breckinridge and Abbott published *The Delinquent Child and the Home*,<sup>1</sup> virtually all studies of delinquents or adult criminals have found a high percentage of cases from broken homes.<sup>2</sup> Case histories, as well as statistical studies, point to the broken home as an important factor in personality maladjustment.<sup>3</sup> Psychiatrists have considered abnormal home environments, including the broken home, to be important conditioning factors in delinquent behavior.<sup>4</sup>

Not only have high percentages of broken homes been found in a delinquent population, but higher percentages of broken homes have been generally shown to exist among the female cases than among the male cases.<sup>5</sup> Various attempts have been made to explain this disparity. Such attempts have resulted in devious and complex discussions which have not clarified the question. Inferences have been largely guesses on the basis of assumed differences between the sexes. T. Earl Sullenger, for example, suggests that the reason the broken home rate of girls is higher than that of boys is obvious and is due to the fact that "the girl's life is more closely related to the

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, New York, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> *Boyhood and Lawlessness*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1914; E. H. Shideler, "Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States," *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.* January 1918, 8: 709-732; William Healy *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1920; William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals*, New York, 1926; John Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy*, New York, 1926; Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers*, New York, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Mary B. Sayles, *The Problem Child at School*, New York, 1925, and *The Problem Child at Home*, New York, 1928; Clifford R. Shaw, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, Chicago, 1931, and *The Jack Roller*, Chicago, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, New York, 1925; William Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, 213-225, Boston, 1926.

<sup>5</sup> See U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, *Juvenile-Court Statistics*, Number 245 (Two-Year Period Ended December 31, 1936), page 29, Table 6. Each yearly issue has shown the same trend. See also R. B. Fowler, "Study of Delinquency among School Girls," *J. Appl. Sociol.*, 1921, 6: 225-228; Anne T. Bingham, "Determinants of Sex Delinquency in Adolescent Girls, Based on Intensive Studies of 500 Cases," *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, 1923, 13: 494; E. M. Bushong, "Family Estrangement and Juvenile Delinquency," *Social Forces*, 1926, 5: 79-83; M. G. Caldwell, "Home Conditions of Institutional Delinquent Boys in Wisconsin," *Social Forces*, 1930, 8: 390; Katherine Du Pre Lumpkin, "Parental Conditions of Wisconsin Girl Delinquents," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1932, 38: 232-239; Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Juvenile Delinquency?" *Social Forces*, May 1932, 10: 514-529; Margaret Hodgkiss, "The Influence of Broken Homes and Working Mothers," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, March 1933, 3: 259-274; T. Earl Sullenger, "Juvenile Delinquency, a Product of the Home," *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, 1934, 24: 1088-1092.

home and more deeply involved in its culture." From this, he concludes that "a disorganization of the home is more quickly expressed in the girl's behavior."<sup>6</sup> Edwin H. Sutherland, in discussing the differences in the broken home rates of male and female delinquents, states that the higher rate of broken homes among the females

may mean that the supervision of both parents is necessary for girls more than for boys, or that there is an attachment between the girl and the missing parent (generally the father) which, when broken, is more likely to result in the delinquency of girls than of boys, or that the economic position resulting from the loss of one parent affects the girl more seriously than the boy.<sup>7</sup>

Could it be that acceptance of the disparity between the broken home rates of male and female delinquents, and preoccupation with sex differences as the sole explanation for this disparity, have blocked further investigation? Could it be that the disparity might be explained by analysis of specific delinquencies for which juveniles are brought before the court? Is it not conceivable that broken home rates might vary with types of delinquency? Would the proportional differences in types of delinquency committed by males and females affect the broken home rates of males and female delinquents as a whole? Would broken home rates vary with sex if comparison were made between like delinquencies committed by males and females?

It is the hypothesis of this study that the apparent difference in broken home rates of male and female delinquents is not a real difference, and that it can be explained on the basis of the types of delinquency for which males and females are apprehended.

*Source of Data.* Data used to test this hypothesis were obtained from the records of the juvenile court of Spokane, Washington.<sup>8</sup> Pertinent information was collected from the records of the 515 delinquents who appeared before the court during 1937. Of these 515 delinquents, 420, or 81.6 percent, were males and 95, or 18.4 percent, were females.<sup>9</sup>

*Home Situations of Male and Female Delinquents.* From the distributions of broken home rates presented in Table 1, it is evident that the females

<sup>6</sup> *Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency*, 21-22, New York, 1936.

<sup>7</sup> *Principles of Criminology*, 159, Philadelphia, 1939. Sutherland is discussing the results of the study made by Shaw and McKay of broken homes in male delinquent cases, and those of Margaret Hodgkiss' study of broken homes in female delinquent cases. Sutherland qualifies his remarks, however, by suggesting that the difference in rates found in the two studies may be explained by the smaller number of cases in the latter.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks are accorded to Judge R. M. Webster and to Mr. H. W. Arvin, Probation Officer, both of the Spokane County Juvenile Court, for permission to use the records and for aid in interpreting some of the data.

<sup>9</sup> These are approximately the proportions of males and females cited by the Children's Bureau for the twenty-eight courts which have reported to the Bureau throughout the period 1929-1937. In 1937, the male cases accounted for 85 percent of the total number of cases in these twenty-eight courts. See U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, *Social Statistics*, Supplement No. 1, U. S. Printing Office, 1938. There seems to be no reason to believe, therefore, that Spokane differs from other centers in regard to the distribution of the sexes, so far as delinquency is concerned.

# MALE AND FEMALE BROKEN HOME RATES

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TABLE 1. HOME SITUATIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES WHO APPEARED BEFORE THE SPOKANE COUNTY JUVENILE COURT IN 1937

Home Situation	Total		Males		Females	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Nonbroken	280	55.1	250	60.4	30	31.9
Broken	228	44.9	164	39.6	64	68.1
<i>Voluntary</i> <sup>1</sup>	131	25.8	96	23.2	35	37.2
<i>Involuntary</i> <sup>2</sup>	97	19.1	68	16.4	29	30.9
Totals <sup>3</sup>	508	100.0	414	100.0	94	100.0

<sup>1</sup> A home broken by divorce, separation, or desertion.

<sup>2</sup> A home broken by the death of one or both parents, or by the confinement of one or both parents in an institution.

<sup>3</sup> Seven cases, six males and one female, have been omitted because of no information as to home situation. The totals are of Nonbroken and Broken.

are from broken homes in proportionately greater numbers than are the males, 68.1 percent as compared with 39.6 percent. Further analysis shows that the percentages of both voluntarily and involuntarily broken homes are higher for the females than for the males, 37.2 and 30.9 as compared with 23.2 and 16.4. Thus, even when the type of broken home is held constant, the results here are consistent with those of other studies which have compared broken home rates of males and females treating delinquency as a whole.

Will a comparison of the delinquencies for which males and females are brought before the court indicate any reason for these results?

*Types of Delinquency Committed by Males and Females.* From Table 2 it can be seen that there are large proportional differences in the types of

TABLE 2. DELINQUENCIES FOR WHICH MALES AND FEMALES APPEARED BEFORE THE SPOKANE COUNTY JUVENILE COURT IN 1937

Delinquency	Total		Males		Females	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Property	174	33.8	170	40.5	4	4.2
Traffic	81	15.7	80	19.0	1	1.1
Misdemeanor	70	13.6	66	15.7	4	4.2
Running away	69	13.4	46	11.0	23	24.2
Ungovernability	53	10.3	27	6.4	26	27.3
Immorality	27	5.2	5	1.2	22	23.2
Truancy	9	1.8	8	1.9	1	1.1
Others <sup>1</sup>	32	6.2	18	4.3	14	14.7
Totals	515	100.0	420	100.0	95	100.0

<sup>1</sup> "Others" includes a group of miscellaneous delinquencies such as use of liquor or drugs assault, and living under conditions unfavorable to morals.

delinquency committed by males and females. Property offenses constitute by far the largest proportion of delinquencies for which males are brought to the court; traffic violations and misdemeanors rank proportionately second and third. These three delinquencies account for three quarters of all the male cases. The females, on the other hand, are brought to the court for comparatively few property and traffic offenses and misdemeanors. In fact, only 9.5 percent of the delinquencies committed by females fall into the categories which account for 75.2 percent of those committed by males. The bulk of the female cases (74.7 percent) is composed of runaways, ungovernables, and sex delinquents.<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 3. HOME SITUATIONS OF MALES BY TYPES OF DELINQUENCY

Home Situation	Property Offense		Traffic Offense		Misdemeanor		Ungovernability Running away Truancy		Others	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Nonbroken	106	62.7	54	68.4	49	74.2	29	37.7	12	54.6
Broken	63	37.3	25	31.6	17	25.8	48	62.3	10	45.4
Voluntary	36	21.3	14	17.7	11	16.7	31	40.3	4	18.2
Involuntary	27	16.0	11	13.9	6	9.1	17	22.0	6	27.2
Totals <sup>1</sup>	169	100.0	79	100.0	66	100.0	77	100.0	22	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Six cases omitted because of no information as to home situation, and one because of no information as to type of delinquency. Totals are of Nonbroken and Broken.

These differences in the percentage distributions of the delinquencies of males and females suggest that the broken home rates of males and females may be unequally weighted if broken home rates vary with types of delinquency.

*Home Situations by Types of Delinquency.* An examination of the home situations of the males by types of delinquency (Table 3) indicates that the proportions of broken homes are higher for certain delinquencies than for others. The percentage of broken homes for the group which includes the ungovernables, runaways, and truants is 62.3; whereas the percentages for the property offenders, the traffic offenders, and the misdemeanants are only 37.3, 31.6, and 25.8 respectively. The separate differences between each of these latter three percentages and that in the category headed "Ungovernability" could occur by chance less than once in one hundred times.

The association between voluntarily broken homes and certain types of delinquency is particularly evident. The category headed "Ungovernability" shows 40.3 percent of voluntarily broken homes; whereas these other three types of delinquency show but 21.3, 17.7, and 16.7 percent respectively. In the "Others" category, the percentage of voluntarily broken

<sup>10</sup> The percentage distributions of the delinquencies of males and females in Spokane approximate those reported to the Children's Bureau by the twenty-eight courts. *Ibid.*, 5-7.



homes is 18.2. Thus not only broken homes in general, but types of broken homes as well, show variations in rates for different delinquencies.

The proportions of broken homes in the female cases likewise vary by types of delinquency (Table 4). In the category "Ungovernability," the percentage of broken homes is 88.5; whereas in the categories "Running

TABLE 4. HOME SITUATIONS OF FEMALES BY TYPES OF DELINQUENCY

Home Situation	Ungovernability		Running away		Immorality		Others	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Nonbroken	3	11.5	7	30.5	10	47.6	10	41.6
Broken	23	88.5	16	69.5	11	52.4	14	58.4
<i>Voluntary</i>	14	53.8	7	30.4	8	38.1	6	25.0
<i>Involuntary</i>	9	34.7	9	39.1	3	14.3	8	33.4
Totals <sup>1</sup>	26	100.0	23	100.0	21	100.0	24	100.0

<sup>1</sup> One case omitted because of no information as to home situation. Totals are of Nonbroken and Broken.

away," "Immorality," and "Others," the percentages are 69.5, 52.4, and 58.4 respectively. Here again types of broken homes, as well as broken homes in general, show variations in rates for different delinquencies. As in the case of the males, the association between voluntarily broken homes and certain types of delinquency is particularly evident.

TABLE 5. HOME SITUATIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES GROUPED BY COMPARABLE AND ALL OTHER DELINQUENCIES

Home Situation	All Delinquencies				Ungovernability Running away Truancy				Others			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Nonbroken	250	60.5	30	31.9	29	37.7	10	20.4	221	65.8	20	44.4
Broken	163	39.5	64	68.1	48	62.3	39	79.6	115	34.2	25	55.6
<i>Voluntary</i>	96	23.3	35	37.2	31	40.3	22	44.9	65	19.3	13	28.9
<i>Involuntary</i>	67	16.2	29	30.9	17	22.0	17	34.7	50	14.9	12	26.7
Totals <sup>1</sup>	413	100.0	94	100.0	77	100.0	49	100.0	336	100.0	45	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Seven cases omitted because of no information as to home situation, and one because of no information as to type of delinquency. Totals are of Nonbroken and Broken.

The fact that large percentages of the female delinquents are apprehended for ungovernability and running away—categories where the proportions of broken homes are high—may account for the larger proportion of broken homes among the females than among the males. Table 5 pre-

sents the distributions of broken home rates of males and females when the delinquencies, ungovernability, running away, and truancy are grouped together. Although the proportion of broken homes remains greater for the females than for the males, the difference is less striking. As can be determined from the table, the difference between the broken home rates of males and females apprehended for these three delinquencies is 17.3 (not statistically significant), as compared with a difference of 28.6 for all delinquencies. A comparison of the broken home rates of males and females apprehended for all other delinquencies than these three shows a reduction of the difference between males and females from 28.6 to 21.4. "Others," however, is a heterogeneous category which includes some delinquencies committed predominantly by males and some committed predominantly by females. Unfortunately, the number of female cases is not large enough to permit a separate comparison for each type of delinquency.<sup>11</sup>

Analysis of the percentages of types of broken homes supports the finding that the difference between males and females is reduced when like delinquencies are used as the basis for comparison. The difference between the rates of voluntarily broken homes is only 4.6 when male and female ungovernables, runaways, and truants are compared. There is a larger difference between the rates of involuntarily broken homes in this comparison (12.7). Neither of these differences, however, is statistically significant on the basis of the number of cases.

In order to ascertain whether there might be differences in the broken home rates hidden by the grouping of like delinquencies, separate comparisons were made for the ungovernables and the runaways. (The truants were not compared separately because of the smallness of numbers.) The rates for the ungovernables were found to be 88.5 (females) and 77.8 (males), and for the runaways 69.6 (females) and 57.2 (males). These rates show that the grouping of delinquencies comparable for males and females to obtain larger numbers does not bias the analysis.<sup>12</sup>

A comparison of types of broken homes by separate delinquencies shows that in the case of runaways the proportion of involuntarily broken homes is slightly higher for the males than for the females (32.6 percent as compared with 30.4 percent). The contention that girls are more deeply affected by the home situation than are boys (*supra*, pp. 2-3) is not supported, at least in this instance. In fact, although the broken home rate for the females exceeds that for the males in each delinquency compared, the differ-

<sup>11</sup> It may perhaps be suggestive that there is no difference between the broken home rate of the 316 male property offenders, traffic offenders, and misdemeanants and that of the nine females apprehended for these same delinquencies. Of course, the small number of female cases makes any conclusion impossible.

<sup>12</sup> The fact that the rate for the male ungovernables (77.8) exceeds the rate for the females in each category other than "Ungovernability" indicates what would happen if a sample were by accident overweighted with male ungovernables.

ences are not great enough to form a basis for the generalization that females are more likely than males to become delinquent because of a broken home. The much lower rate of broken homes among male delinquents than among female delinquents, when delinquency is treated as a whole, is due to the fact that the majority of the males are apprehended for delinquencies which show low broken home rates (Table 3), whereas the majority of the females are apprehended for delinquencies which show high broken home rates (Table 4).

It is significant that the delinquencies of *both* sexes which show the highest broken home rates are those which might be expected to result from abnormal family relationships. The ungovernables, runaways, and truants represent a group which appears to be reacting primarily to the home situation. The property and traffic offenders and the misdemeanants, on the other hand, represent a group whose delinquencies do not seem to be closely associated with the home situation. It would seem, then, that the broken home is important as a causative factor only in certain delinquencies. *criticism*

A comparison of the broken home rates of male delinquents and nondelinquents tends to substantiate this generalization. The broken home rate for a random sample of 424 male nondelinquents, comparable in age to the male delinquents, is 25.7; whereas the broken home rate for the delinquents is 39.6. In other words, for every male nondelinquent from a broken home there are 1.54 delinquents from broken homes. For different delinquencies, however, there are marked variations in the ratios. There are 2.42 ungovernables, runaways, and truants from broken homes for every nondelinquent from a broken home. The ratio for the property offenders is 1.45, and for the traffic offenders 1.23. The misdemeanants show practically the same proportion of broken homes (25.8) as is found in the nondelinquent population (25.7). The broken home is therefore much more a factor in ungovernability, running away, and truancy than it is in the other delinquencies for which males are brought to the court. *criticism*

*Broken Home Rates by Sources of Referral.* It has been shown that the differences between the broken home rates of male and female delinquents can be partially explained by a comparison of like delinquencies committed by males and females. A further explanation of this differential may be found in an analysis of the sources of referral of delinquents to the court.

Undoubtedly there is an association between type of delinquency and source of referral to the court.<sup>13</sup> Since this is so, there is likely to be an

<sup>13</sup> As the percentage of sources other than the police (parents, schools, and others) is increased, the percentage of ungovernables, runaways, and truants is increased. A correlation coefficient was run between these two series of percentages based on data reported by forty-five courts to the Children's Bureau in 1936, *Juvenile-Court Statistics*, 117-121, Tables IV, IVa, V, and Va. This coefficient was .72 ± .07.

association between source of referral and home situation. But is there an independent association between source of referral and home situation without regard to type of delinquency? Unfortunately, the number of cases is not large enough to hold constant each type of delinquency in order to measure the separate relationship between source of referral and home situation, but some indication of this relationship may be shown by the following analysis.

The police apprehend proportionately more males than females because of the nature of the delinquencies committed by each sex. As has been shown, property and traffic violations and misdemeanors constitute three fourths of all delinquencies for which males are brought before the court. The police refer 86.0 percent of these cases. In contrast, male runaways and ungovernables are referred by the police in 68.1 and 7.4 percent of the cases respectively. It follows, then, that where the police refer a high percentage of the cases, the broken home rate is relatively low; and where the police refer a low percentage of the cases the broken home rate is relatively high.

For both male and female delinquents, regardless of the type of delinquency, the broken home rates are lower when police do the referring (36.3 percent for the males and 50.0 percent for the females) than they are when sources other than the police<sup>14</sup> do the referring (50.6 percent for the males and 79.3 percent for the females). This fact is important, because nearly three times as many females as males (61.1 percent as contrasted with 22.2 percent) are referred to the court by sources other than the police. This differential in source of referral would necessarily result in a higher broken home rate for the females than for the males.

Certain factors seem to be responsible for the selection of a larger proportion of broken homes among the cases referred by sources other than the police than among the cases referred by the police. For example, the proportions of broken homes are very high in both male and female cases (87.0 percent for the males and 63.2 percent for the females) referred by parents. In this instance, the broken home rate is higher in the male than in the female group. It seems probable that when a parent is unable to cope with a child in an abnormal home situation he (or more likely she) calls upon the court for help. There are also high broken home rates for both males and females referred by the school (75.0 percent and 88.9 percent respectively). It may be that the school finds difficulty in securing cooperation from a broken home, and therefore turns to the court.

In the cases referred to the court by neighbors or friends, the broken home rate is two and a half times as high for the females (86.7 percent) as for the males (30.4 percent). Evidently the mores of the neighborhood define the effect of the broken home differently for males and females. The broken

<sup>14</sup> Sources other than the police are: parents; schools; and others. "Others" in Spokane are, for the most part, neighbors and friends.



home rate would be higher for the males than for the females if sources other than the police included only parents and schools, but the referrals by neighbors and friends weight heavily the broken home rate of the females and thus cause it to be larger than that of the males for sources other than the police as a whole.

*Conclusions.* The apparently large difference between the broken home rates of male and female delinquents can be explained by an analysis of two factors. The first factor is the type of delinquency for which each sex is referred to the court. In general, males are referred for delinquencies which show a low broken home rate, whereas females are referred for delinquencies which show a high broken home rate. A comparison of the broken home rates of males and females apprehended for comparable delinquencies reveals but an insignificant difference between the rates.

The second factor is source of referral to the court. The large majority of males (77.7 percent) referred by the police shows a relatively low broken home rate. The majority of females (61.1 percent) referred by sources other than the police shows a relatively high broken home rate. Again, a comparison of the broken home rates of males and females referred to the court by comparable sources reveals an insignificant difference between the rates, except in cases referred by neighbors and friends. This source refers a much greater proportion of females than males from broken homes.

Two tentative generalizations can be made from this analysis: first, as the proportion of cases of ungovernability, running away, and truancy is increased, the broken home rate for delinquency as a whole is increased; second, as the proportion of delinquents referred to the court by sources other than the police is increased, the broken home rate for delinquents as a whole is increased.

Thus, the hypothesis of the study is borne out by the data presented. It must be recognized, however, that although these data were drawn from reliable sources of information and were checked for statistical reliability whenever possible, the resulting conclusions should be accepted as tentative because the number of cases in this study is small and because comparable studies have yet to be made in other cities.

## A NEW PROGRAM FOR TREATMENT OF YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS\*

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THE great interest that American sociology manifests in crime and what produces it certainly is warranted by the gigantic proportions that this social phenomenon assumes in our national life. Studies of incidence and causations are only first steps toward planning relief from one of our costliest burdens.

Then what are the next steps? Should the sociologist, rightfully stressing the ounce of prevention, lay most emphasis on those factors in early upbringing and in economic and group pressures which tend to foster criminality? Perhaps so, especially if the prevalence of misconduct in high places is stressed as it influences our population and even in young people breeds cynicism about their world and consequent contempt for the law; and also if due weight is given to the incitements to crime deriving from the continual bombardment of youth with fact and fiction about criminalistic exploits and gains. Some of your eminent members, among them W. I. Thomas, have called attention to the inevitable results of this, and all of my craft who delve into causations in individual cases know that ideas of criminality are antecedents of criminal behavior.

Other aspects of the problem of prevention are also of vital importance to society. In medicine, when symptoms of disease appear, a prime consideration is to give the person treatment that will not only afford immediate relief but prevent later recurrence of the symptoms. If criminality is displayed, it is a symptom. When an offender is taken in hand by the law, is he treated by methods that are calculated to prevent recurrence of his symptomatic behavior? Here is a matter of great sociological import: the law itself and the assets and weaknesses of its structure and methods as it attempts to check crime by prescribing what shall be done to the criminal.

In presenting to sociologists certain proposals of a committee appointed by the American Law Institute, the need appears for asking some little consideration of what the law really is as a basic instrument of cultural organization, and this particularly, because some of the proposals may seem rather revolutionary. To orient myself, I reread that product of a pre-Machiavellian Germany, Berolzheimer's *The World's Legal Philosophies*.

Nothing in this scholarly review stands out more clearly than the sociological implications of the nature and evolution of the law. Though we are

\* Embodying a later report of the Committee of the American Law Institute, and thus necessitating modifications of an address given before the American Sociological Society, December, 27, 1939, at Philadelphia.

all prone to think of the law as embodying principles and practices of positive and fixed values, representing at least some of the essentials of absolute morality, both common sense and history tell us that it is a man-made implement for standardizing the interrelationship adjustments of members of social groups. Whether or not we are forced to acknowledge the metaphysical dictum that there is such a thing as natural law or abstract justice or inherent human striving toward righteousness, the fact is that the evolution of the law has led to its being profoundly changed during even historic times. Not only has it been altered frequently in substance, as new edicts and provisions have been introduced, but also the philosophy of its own meaningfulness has varied. The law, like government, is a cultural phenomenon. Often slowly changing, it always represents to a great extent, though with some lag, the spirit of the age in which it exists.

Having their genesis, so far as we know, in priestly cults of primitive peoples and providing mainly for propitiation of the Gods, concepts of the purpose of the law have come down to us through even such forms as the Roman code which was devoid of ethical elements. Now, of course, the trend of civilized thinking is to regard the law as an instrument for the protection of the interests of society itself and for the preservation of the rights, liberties, and welfare of the individual members of society. These two functions of the law, while not accounting for all the origins of its philosophy, tie up with many sociological considerations and hence logically open the way for practically oriented modifications of procedures and even of the substance of the law.

The main provisions of the proposed model enactment are, first, that an independent agency of the state government be created with state-wide jurisdiction, the function of which shall be to provide and administer corrective and preventive training and treatment for persons committed to it. The last designation for this agency is The Youth-Correction Authority.

Second, that whenever in any criminal proceeding in a court of the state, other than a juvenile court, a person between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one has been adjudged guilty of a violation of the law, unless he is merely fined or sentence is suspended or he has committed a capital offense, he shall be forthwith committed to The Youth-Correction Authority.

It is upon an eminently practical sociological foundation that this new enactment and its details are built. The creation of a new state agency to deal with youthful offenders is for the purpose of determining and administering suitable types of treatment and deciding their proper length. It is also to administer coordinated probation and parole services. Through having these closely related powers and functions, efficiency in protecting society and in reclaiming offenders will be greatly increased.

Those lawyers who will probably oppose the passage of this model act have no legal philosophy upon which to base their objections. To repeat, the

law is a social instrument that can and should be modified to serve the best interests of society at any period of cultural development. In this proposed act, the judicial prerogative of imposing definite penalties for specified types of offenses is largely done away with; also the statutory provisions for such penalties. But what of it, if better methods of protecting society are recognized and introduced! The new enactment preserves the basic modern concepts of the purposes of the law and adds to the prospect of realizing them.

One of the main arguments for The Youth-Correction Authority and its training and treatment service is found in the gross failure of present methods of dealing with young offenders. The astounding amount of recidivism in this country proves that what is done with them fails in very considerable measure to check their criminalistic tendencies. The records of inmates of reformatories to which young adults are committed show how many of these must have been offenders ineffectively dealt with under the law when they were less than twenty-one. From many possible examples we may take some Elmira statistics. In a recent year, among the 737 parolees, there were 53 percent who had previously served in a correctional institution, to say nothing of 18 percent more with records of prior appearances in court.

Then within this age period, namely at nineteen and twenty years, comes the age-peak of the commission of major crimes. Boys of seventeen to twenty commit major offenses to a much greater extent than persons belonging to any other four-year group. From these facts, together with those relating to recidivism, the only conclusion possible is that if youthful offenders can be dealt with effectively, crime will be materially decreased.

Certainly some will wonder why the proposed enactment confines itself to the youth group. This is not only for the reasons pushed to the fore in the figures for offenses and recidivism, but also is the result of other considerations. This life-period presents unique problems. As a whole, it is an age group fairly well differentiated from juvenile delinquents. The type of offenses begins clearly at seventeen years to show more desperate trends. It is the period of development of new adjustments, contrasting with those of school age and of maturity. Emancipation from family ties comes now and the increase of independence is not accompanied by the feeling of responsibility which generally develops later. The age of legal responsibility in property matters and in civic affairs is not yet reached, and it is possible that this has its bearing upon the attitude and behavior of youth.

It is the age of physical changes with all their concomitant needs and urges that develop between the early years of adolescence and full manhood. Psychologically considered, it is often a time of confused ideas, desires, and impulses. We may occasionally note a case in which the confused mental states suggest a mild psychosis. It is the period of vocational adjustments which unfortunately are frequently so difficult to make. These older adolescents often find themselves at sea in making their social contacts;



they have not the stabilized situations that have been experienced earlier or will normally be found later.

Certain other practical considerations have had to be taken into account—the size of the case load for a new organization, and the establishment of new kinds of institutional treatment. Then there is also the important point that public interest can best be awakened in the problems of youth.

To be sure, some have argued for extension of such a better coordinated system of treatment to apply to offenders at all ages, including juveniles. The latter, however, are already dealt with under laws which would easily permit of better integrated programs of treatment. Our first task of organization cannot be too heavy and consequently the decision has been to consider primarily the age group that would offer promise of showing the most striking results in the reduction of criminality.

The reasonable expectancy of more favorable results from a newly organized training and treatment service is based on the possibility of introducing rationally developed methods of procedure. After a proposed comprehensive first study of the offender and of what caused him to be an offender, he is to be allocated either to supervision and treatment on probation or to any one of several types of institutional training and treatment. We shall come to the details of this a little later. There is to be no predetermination of the time required to give a minimum probability of repetition of offense.

Why, in this model act, explicit sentencing power is taken away from the judge would seem obvious, but perhaps it calls for some further discussion. The issuance of prescriptions from the bench, whether designed for rendering retributive penalties, deterring potential offenders, or reforming those convicted—all issued, it may be, under the assumption that society thereby will be protected—can be proved to have very little social validity. In scientific terms, one can say these prescriptions are very slightly related to the important matters of etiology, diagnosis, or prognosis. Have we not evolved far beyond old wives' medicine—the giving of doses and potions without knowing anything about the nature of the ailment? Though utilizing the previous record of the offender, which may be at hand after the finding of guilty, the judge cannot possibly, even with a modicum of accuracy, determine the necessity for any given length of segregation or the effects of any special kinds of treatment. An able member of the bench once confided to me that the function of judges in sentencing was to *guess*. Only time-consuming studies of offenders have any predictive value.

Here again may we not ask how the philosophy of the law bears on this matter? Long ago, I was warned to remember that the criminal law embodies the wisdom of the ages. But does it do so if it in general flouts accumulated scientific knowledge, and if, in particular, it pays little attention to whether the offender will be made better or worse, or whether society in the long run will receive adequate protection when statutory penalties

are prescribed? Under statutory law, of course, it is the prerogative and duty of the judge to state specifically what should be done with an offender, but we can well query whether that is not simply through long continued custom and expediency rather than a matter involving the fundamental principles and philosophy of the law.

The composition of the Youth-Correction Authority, which until its entire functions were made clear was termed a Treatment Board or Treatment Tribunal, has been most carefully considered. There should be at least three members. One in particular should have administrative ability, not only for the sake of efficiency within the Authority itself and all of its subdivisions, but also because of the need for successful coordinations with other departments of the state and with private organizations. It was thought that such a person might be either a specially qualified lawyer, or business man, or someone in the field of government service.

Another member should have already demonstrated ability to make scientific case studies of youthful offenders and to plan corrective training and treatment for them. Consequently he should be either a psychiatrist, sociologist, or psychologist. In smaller states, the actual work with offenders would take up much of his time. When there was a larger case load, he would have oversight of the functioning of professional subordinates, keeping as much as possible in touch with actual cases, and would mainly instigate the research activities concerning the effectiveness of different features of the training and treatment service.

The third member should have demonstrated practical skills in the correctional treatment of youthful offenders, whether in institutions or on probation or parole. Obviously, his functions would include the actual management of many situations, and his professional equipment should be that of a person well trained in the field of social work or in the successful adaptation of methods of corrective training and treatment in institutions.

This central body, in conference with members of its staff, will pass upon all major matters, especially those pertaining to the continued segregation or parole or probation or complete discharge of any youth committed to it. Periodic reviews of every case are provided for and no offender can be held after he is 25 years old unless a court of proper jurisdiction gives full hearing to the case and recommitts to the Authority.

Under control of the Authority, the training and treatment services will function in coordinated units of agencies and institutions, with ample powers of transfer. One agency will be the probation service which can make use of the professional staff for diagnoses, recommendations, and treatment. As is successfully done in some European countries, hostels for employed probationers and for those still attending school can be established if it appears advisable to remove them from inimical environmental conditions.

The story of the contemplated institutional resources begins with the Observation Center, or whatever it may be called, to which all detained offenders must go immediately after they are found guilty. Well-rounded studies of the individual and, as far as possible, of the causations of his criminality will be undertaken in order to assure the proper primary allocation of him to some type of training and treatment. It may be decided promptly or after a time that probationary supervision and not further detention is indicated. The staff can maintain an out-patient department, as it were, to which offenders can be ordered to report if they have been allowed to remain at liberty though committed to the Authority.

If we will learn from the experiences and the remarkably fine results of the English Borstal system, the establishment of the various units or institutions that are essential for different types of training and treatment should offer no insurmountable difficulties nor prove to be very costly. So far as costs are concerned, parenthetically I would insist that the early checking of any one of many well-known criminal careers would in itself save the state thousands of dollars. It is not a problem of expensive bricks and mortar. While the utilization of some institutions of maximum security is unavoidable, for the majority of youthful offenders much simpler and more open places of detention will suffice. It is an exceedingly good plan to have the young men as a part of their training erect buildings to house themselves. In New Jersey, and in other places, this has been found workable and in England it is undertaken to a great extent. Camp and farm projects for offenders we need hardly mention; they have already proved of great value here as well as abroad. Also the use of existing public and private resources for treatment is authorized.

We should realize that for the greater security of society the Authority can supervise or hold under restraint individuals dangerous to its welfare over much longer periods than if they received the statutory penalties given in most cases. The common sentences of thirty or sixty days, or one to three years, or of any other set term, are done away with. Such sentences are sometimes given to thoroughly abnormal offenders. I remember one desperate young psychopath who in a neighboring state was sentenced to a year and a day. There are plenty of offenders of other types exhibiting deep-set criminal tendencies who now receive wholly inadequate sentences.

On the other hand, the various forms of reeducative and training activities that are possibilities under this new organization are bound to be effective in reclaiming large numbers of youthful offenders—many more than under the present punitive system. There should be a full day's program whereby the evils of idleness and the opportunities for vicious phantasy life, ordinary accompaniments of a prison regime, are reduced to a minimum. At first, our committee spoke solely of treating the offender, but

when it was suggested that our phraseology implied something like medical therapy, we granted that much of what we called treatment was really corrective and reeducative training.

The range of methods that may be and should be employed by the training and treatment service covers not only the studies of the individual case that have been already mentioned, but also individually adapted physical training, disciplinary measures, thorough exercise in trade skills that can be utilized later, medical and surgical therapy, the development of challenging interests in recreations and hobbies, evening education in citizenship and academic subjects, the therapeutic use of personal interviews, and expert psychotherapy. Those of us who have witnessed the combination of personal interviews with a wholesome and rigorous training program abroad, to which the young fellows respond in remarkable fashion, realize keenly that our own usual reformatory regime is soft indeed.

It is very clear that choosing and maintaining a properly trained, experienced, and deeply interested personnel is of the essence of the success of the entire enterprise. Drafted into the service must be those who will devote themselves to the aim of reconstructing youth—educators, skilled artisans, agriculturists, disciplinary officers, house masters, chaplains, psychologists, psychiatrists, and other medical men.

The greatest requisite for the staff—and here I am relying on my own professional observations—is that they shall have the personality qualities which will automatically bring about such relationships that many of the offenders will be modified through building up new attitudes and ideals by the processes of unconscious imitation and identification.

If this sounds like a big order, permit me to tell you that I could render a long account of how close all of this program is to that carried out under splendid leadership in the Borstal System where may be seen many stalwart, well-educated people at work in the institutions or in the after-care processes. Is it not possible to enlist in this country men of the proper caliber for such an important social task? It must be that we are not lacking comparable human material for this leadership and this service.

Of necessity, many details contained in the draft of the model enactment and its commentaries have been omitted in this review of its objectives and provisions, presented, as you realize, from the standpoint of my own evaluations. For one thing, if offenders were automatically committed to the Authority without consideration of whether or not they were mentally abnormal or not legally punishable even though if normal they could have been found guilty of a crime, much of the difficulty centering about that question would be obviated. The idea of protection of society through treatment adapted to the personality characteristics of the offender—and this might mean prolonged segregation—takes the place of retributive penalties. The borderline cases and the pathological personalities which present such

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grave problems for the criminal law could be adequately dealt with.

To me it appears clear that those instruments of society, the criminal law and the penal institutions, have for the most part been functioning in thoroughly disjointed and disoriented fashion—the practices of both have been very largely uncoordinated with their social aims and purposes. If the proposals of this Committee of the American Law Institute are seen as revolutionary, then, considering all that I have attempted to convey, is it not time for this revolution? The proposals express so much of the inherent sociological intent of the law that really they merely represent evolution.

It remains to be seen if the American Law Institute will pass favorably upon the recommendations of its Committee. Already with some constructive criticisms, the response of a large body of critics to an earlier draft of this Youth-Correction Authority Act has been strongly in positive favor of the model enactment. Some of the criticisms have led to emendations and perhaps further changes will be made. Some sociologists have thought that their professional point of view is not completely enough represented in the model act, but sociology was most ably represented on the Committee, and a complete reading of the provisions together with the commentaries will readily establish the fact that sociological as well as legal considerations were always much to the fore.<sup>1</sup>

Another draft for the establishment of "A Youth Court of Special Personnel and Limited Jurisdiction" is being presented to the Council of the Law Institute at the same time. Its provisions are necessarily very largely concerned with legal and court procedures, but again the social consequences of bad police and court practices, and the deleterious influences which develop between arrest and trial or final disposition of the case receive most emphasis. Indeed, it is to remedy such inimical conditions and by better protection of youth from them—which means better protection of society—that a new type of court is recommended.

It is an immensely hopeful sign that nowadays so many sociologists are giving courses in criminology, doubtless with much discussion and criticism of existing methods of handling offenders. With all the ardent feeling that some of us have for the early prevention of criminal careers, yet we must appreciate that after an offender is convicted there comes another clear-cut opportunity for breaking the chain of recurring cause and effect. In these carefully considered proposals of our Committee, there is new material for the sociologist, to serve, it is to be hoped, not only as a spur to more discussion, but as a stimulus to further the adoption of new legislative enactments and to challenge professionally trained people and the public to appreciate the dignity of service in the reconstruction of youthful behavior.

<sup>1</sup> At its meeting in May, 1940, The American Law Institute passed a final draft of the model Youth-Correction Authority Act. Very few changes were made in the previous draft. Copies may be obtained from the office of the Institute, 330 W. 42nd Street, New York.

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## Official Reports *and* Proceedings

### REPORT OF 1940 RESEARCH CENSUS

The results of the 1940 Census of Social Research conducted by the American Sociological Society appear below. The categories employed in classifying the projects are the same as those used in recent reports except that we have added a section on the Theory of Social Problems. The order of the sections has been changed to permit the listing of the most general sections (History and Theory of Sociology and Methods of Social Research) at the beginning, and to bring together such related sections as Social Psychology and Sociology and Psychiatry.

The classification and description of individual projects is based on the author's own classification and description as indicated on the returned schedule. The items in each section are arranged alphabetically by name of author.

Cross references at the heads of the various sections refer to the serial numbers of individual projects. The cross references for the first two sections are expanded much beyond the actual cross references found in the returned schedules. The cross references for the remaining sections are limited to those contained in the schedules.

RAYMOND V. BOWERS

*Chairman, Committee on Social Research*

#### HISTORY AND THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 34, 50, 55, 56, 65, 66, 67, 68, 74, 80, 85, 87, 105, 106, 136, 143, 197, 203, 217, 219, 226, 236, 237, 262, 265, 269, 270, 277, 278, 292, 302, 356)

1. **A Study of the Concept "Group."** Read Bain, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. A logical analysis of the literature.
2. **Interrelations of Mentality, Society, and Culture in the Hellenic World, 650-350 B.C.** Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin, Madison Wisconsin.
3. **The Catholic Social Thought of Monsignor William J. Kerby.** Joseph Beechem, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
4. **Semantics and Sociology.** Robert Bierstedt, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont. From the British empirical tradition to contemporary philosophy of science.
5. **To Determine B. de Mandeville's Conception of the Nature of Society.** G. T. Bowden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
6. **The Philosophical Background of the Social Sciences.** Gladys Bryson, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. The social philosophies of eight eighteenth-century authors, with constant references to predecessors, history of ideas, and later influence.
7. **American Sociology, an Historical Survey.** *Idem.* The systems of leading American sociologists from Ward on, with a brief introduction concerning the influence of Comte and Spencer and the early "social science" movement.
8. **A Test of Current Theories of What Factors Chiefly Influence the Growth of Trade Unions, and the Formulation of a New Inclusive Theory.** Horace B. Davis, Newton Highlands, Massachusetts. Based on material from trade-union histories, statistical tables of price changes, changes in union membership, and changes in business conditions.
9. **Functionalism in Anthropology.** Kingsley Davis, The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. The method, technique, and history of the functional school in social anthropology, from the earliest beginnings in the writings of Robertson Smith and others to the present. Includes the works of the major contributors to this branch of thought.
10. **The Bases of Social Stratification.** *Idem.* A logical-empirical analysis in structural-functional terms, flanked by a general conceptual scheme with reference to stratification. Based on a schedule of questions to be answered about each of a number of societies.

11. **The "S-Theory," a Construction of a Systematic Quantitative Sociology.** Stuart C. Dodd, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon (Syria). This is the author's forthcoming book, *Dimensions of Society*.
12. **The Concept of America as Expressed in Standard Works of European Literature since 1780, and an Investigation into the Causes of its Change.** Erich Franzen, Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale Illinois.
13. **A Critical Examination of the Contemporary Thinking and Data about Social Institutions.** To set up a systematic and integrated body of theory. J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.
14. **Community Value Orientation.** E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Six community studies, by as many assistants, are under way.
15. **Medicine and Social Science.** Joseph Hirsh, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C. A library research project.
16. **The Status of the Concept of Social Interaction.** Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Based on approximately fifty texts and correspondence with about thirty sociologists.
17. **Arthur J. Penty: His Contribution to Social Thought.** Edward J. Kieman, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
18. **The Idea and the Nature of Social Order (towards a definition).** Frederick E. Lumley, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
19. **A Test of the Objectivity of the Classification of Tribal Peoples as Individualistic, Cooperative, or Competitive.** George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont. An analysis of the data in Margaret Mead's *Cooperation and Competition*.
20. **Institutionalized Evasions of Institutional Rules.** Robert K. Merton, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. A functional analysis, in terms of the theory of social structure, of historical, anthropological and sociological materials on celibacy, legal nonconformity, evasion of kinship and family obligations, and evasion of sex taboos.
21. **Manifest and Latent Functions (in Group Organization).** *Idem.* A functional analysis of the relations between nonlogical conduct and group organization, based on a sampling of cross-cultural materials in the fields of social survivals, ceremonial behavior, and magic.
22. **Analysis of Esthetic Culture.** John H. Mueller, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. A study of historical changes in taste and standards.
23. **The Immigrant and the Negro in Catholic Social Thought, 1825-1925.** Interpretation of the attitude of Catholics toward minority groups. John C. Murphy, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
24. **Class Theory in Contemporary Social Research.** Charles Hunt Page, 242 West 109th St., New York City. A synthesis of the concepts and tools used in the study of social structure.
25. **Middle Class Ideology as Revealed in Popular Non fiction Articles.** *Idem.*
26. **Evolution of Culture.** Maurice Parmelee, 1024 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. To distinguish the decisive steps in cultural evolution. Based on anthropological, geographical, linguistic, ethnographic, historical, and sociopsychological data.
27. **Equality of Opportunity.** Émile Benoît-Smullyan, Wells College, Aurora, New York. Equality of opportunity as a social value and as a social institution. A comparison of class, racial and sex inequalities and of the "derivations" by which they are defended.
28. **Japanese Mores in Transition.** Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. A study of Japanese data to determine whether Ogburn's cultural lag hypothesis holds true under Japanese conditions.
29. **The Social Conditions and Social Processes Concerned with the Emergence of Evolutionary Biology in the Nineteenth Century.** John Edward Taylor, 168 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, New York.
30. **An Introduction to the Sociology of Art.** Adolph S. Tomars, Columbia University, New York City. R. M. MacIver's system of sociology as the basis for analysis of the ways in which the social structure influences art.
31. **The Role of Common Value Attitudes toward Suffering in Social Integration and Social Change.** Richard Hays Williams, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. Based on a wide variety of art objects and linguistic data, analyzed by the historical typological method.
32. **Social Motivation and Control: A General Treatise.** *Idem.* An analysis, in terms of the action frame of reference, of historical and documentary material.



## METHODS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

(See also: 9, 11, 19, 24, 41, 46, 48, 50, 58, 59, 64, 65, 69, 70, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 94, 96, 101, 105, 106, 109, 114, 121, 126, 128, 143, 144, 155, 159, 170, 172, 173, 175, 185, 194, 196, 197, 203, 208, 217, 222, 223, 229, 238, 239, 244, 249, 253, 255, 263, 269, 299, 305, 308, 313, 319, 325, 329, 341, 357)

33. **The Effects upon the Family Life of Tenants of Rehousing in a Public Housing Project (Summer Field Homes, Minneapolis).** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Based on Interviews by social workers or research sociologists in homes of subjects to obtain ratings on standardized scales that measure morale, general adjustment, social status and social participation on an experimental group in the project, matched on ten factors with a control group of slum families, in 1939, and repeated in 1940.

34. **A Study of the Notions of Method, Definition, Causation, Meaning, in Contemporary Social Science, especially Political Science.** Lewis A. Dexter, 536 Pleasant St., Belmont, Mass.

35. **The Quantitative Method in the Sociology of International Relations.** Werner S. Landecker, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. A Statistical attempt to compute an annual international integration quotient on the basis of international treaties and agreements.

36. **The Effect of Statutes and Ordinances and Their Administration.** Underhill Moore, Yale University Law School, New Haven, Conn. Based on ten experiments which include several hundred observations of parking times of automobiles at a time during which parking in the observed area is unrestricted, and repetition of the observations at a time during which parking in the same area is restricted as to duration.

37. **Methodological Problems in the Study of Social Disorganization.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Primary data from twelve series of social disorganization in Chicago. Comparison of attributes of one series with every other, comparison of correlation coefficients between series from year to year, comparison of ecological patterns, etc.

38. **A Study of Conditions of Rating Occupational Status.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. About twelve experimental student groups were used, ranging from 12 to 60 subjects, each group working under a different combination of conditions. Statistical analysis was made of their ratings of various series of occupations on a 100 point scale.

39. **Measurement of Units of Intensity of Social Interaction.** Leslie Day Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota. A sociometric study of the direction and intensity of attitudes in about thirty discussion groups.

## SOCIAL STATISTICS

(See also: 11, 64, 159, 261, 281)

40. **The Shoe and Leather Industry of the United States and its Workers.** Horace B. Davis, Newton Highlands, Mass.

41. **Social Indices of Human Welfare.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. County averages (rates or percentages) have been computed for forty-one social and economic factors. Further work is proposed on smaller areas, the 1940 census, and on a larger number of factors in the hope that a social atlas for Illinois can be prepared. Comparison of means, rates, and percentages; simple correlations of factors which seem to have relationships will be computed.

42. **Differences in Personal and Professional Traits between Students Entering the Physical and the Social Sciences.** George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont. Data on graduate students in the two fields.

43. **Low Income Housing Area Survey.** Allen R. Potter, Housing Authority of the City of Seattle, Seattle, Washington. Ten thousand five hundred families, residing in substandard dwelling units, have been interviewed regarding their income and family composition.

44. **Real Property Survey, City of Seattle.** *Idem.* Data on the hundred and twenty-five thousand dwelling units in Seattle have been collected. Fifteen of the most important items will be presented on cross-hatch maps. These maps, which present the data for each block in the city, will be based upon mathematical averages, medians, and percentages.

45. **The Determination of Certain Economic Criteria for Detroit Census Tracts.** Lent D. Upson, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, Michigan. Data from the Real Property Survey of Detroit, the records of automobile registration, the degree of telephone use, and cases on public relief.

46. **Distribution of Income as Related to Various Economic and Social Factors (Minnesota, October 1, 1938 to September 30, 1939).** William Weinfeld, U. S. Court House, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Based on 16,000 income schedules in terms of occupation, industry, age, and sex; composition and size of family; number of earners per economic unit; relationship (husband, wife, etc.) of earners; rent; value of home; residential mobility; relief status.

47. **Statistical Abstract of St. Louis.** Irving Weissman, Social Planning Council of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri. Compilation of figures which relate to the welfare, health, recreational, industrial, commercial, governmental, and population conditions of the city and county. Data are classified under the headings: the land; climate; dwellings; people; troubles.

48. **Social Indices.** H. B. Woolston, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. An attempt to establish rational equations for the relative status of groups; census materials are used as data.

#### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

(See also: 8, 10, 16, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 95, 136, 138, 146, 163, 188, 194, 203, 227, 259, 263, 264, 265, 267, 271, 278, 285, 293, 318)

49. **The Polish Refugee: a Study of Crisis Behavior and Adjustment.** Theodore Abel, Columbia University, New York City. Over 1000 personally written life-histories have been collected for analysis.

50. **An Event-System Theory of Collective Action (including collective conflict and war).** Floyd H. Allport, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. A geometrical system utilizing conventional statistical methods supplemented by new carotgraphic devices and containing concepts similar to those of topology.

51. **The Role of Social Factors in Industrial Organization.** G. T. Bowden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Participant observation for nine months in a specific organization back up with statistical data from the offices' files.

52. **Anti-Semitic Propaganda in the United States.** Steuart Henderson Britt, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Data are samples of material from varied organizations in all sections of the country.

53. **Jumping-Rope Rhymes and the Social Psychology of Play.** Steuart Henderson Britt, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. and Margaret Balcom, Chevy Chase, Maryland. Rhymes collected in the play situation.

54. **Criteria of Frustration.** Steuart Henderson Britt, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. and Sidney Q. Janus, Washington, D. C. An examination of the literature on frustration, especially the experimental work of the past five or six years.

55. **Toward a Social Psychology of Play.** *Idem.* An attempt at synthesis of representative studies.

56. **Social Psychological Analysis of the Philosophy of Individualism.** L. Guy Brown, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. A study of the history of the philosophy and of its important role in social pathologies.

57. **Trends in Public Interest as Manifested by a Newspaper Analysis, 1880-1940.** James C. Carroll, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

58. **A Sociometric Scale to Measure Social Insight.** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

59. **Some Distortions in Attitude Tests.** Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. The data are 1000 records with social background information and attitude responses on fifteen attitudes—complete coverage of a small rural community. Statistical analysis and multiple factor procedure will be used.

60. **The Consistency of Moral Belief: General vs. Specific Definitions.** John F. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. A comparison of the evaluations that over 100 informants put on certain principles with their evaluations of concrete behavioral instances of these principles.

61. **The Story of An Ex-Delinquent: A Study in Acculturation.** Bingham Dai, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. A life-story written by the subject, supplemented by psycho-analytic interviews for a period of three months.

62. **The Negro Newspaper in Chicago.** Ralph N. Davis, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Materials cover the period 1878-1939 for 29 newspapers.

63. **The Negro Newspaper in the United States.** *Idem.* Materials cover the period 1827-1940 for approximately 120 papers.

64. **Analysis of the Algebraic Matrix of Inter-Human Relations by its Structure, Surface, and Variances.** Stuart C. Dodd, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon (Syria). Four samples, averaging a hundred persons, recorded their attitudes towards each of fourteen national plurels, eleven religious plurels, five economic-level plurels, and three educational-level plurels. Two-way or interrelations among these thirty-three plurels were calculated. On arranging the indices of the interrelation of each pair of persons in the rows and columns of a matrix, a *surface* results which can be analyzed and classified by the formulae of coordinate geometry and also by analysis of their statistical *variance* Algebraic theorems of permutations and combinations give the possible structures of subgroups within the interrelated main groups studied.

65. **A Theory of Imitative Behavior.** John Dollard and Neal E. Miller, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Based partly on a large (perhaps 500) sample of "imitative" acts selected from an extensive written report of daily observation of 3 children from the standpoint of their acquisition of culture.

66. **Primary Factors in the Development of Collective Enterprise in the United States.** Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, and collaborators.

67. **The Sociology of Genius.** Robert E. L. Faris, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Data include published biographical material on geniuses, interviews with talented persons, and observation of interaction in families and small groups.

68. **Linguistic Sociology.** Frieda Fligelman, 2509 Parker St., Berkeley, California. A proposed new subdivision of sociology and a plan for a source book of reprints pertaining to sociological aspects of language.

69. **Measurement of Acculturation in the Individual.** John P. Gillin, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. A study of case and life-history records of the Lac du Flambeau Band of Indians against a background of cultural change.

70. **Justifications for Religious Attitudes and Habits: An Analysis of Sixty-Three Interviews.** Paul C. Glick, 5050 First St., N.W., Washington, D. C. A sample selected from 1000 at the U. of Wis. who had filled out a questionnaire on religious attitudes. Thirty-six were divergent (religious behavior unlike their parents) and twenty-seven typical students (religious behavior like their parents).

71. **The Structure of German Society with Especial Reference to the Influence of National Socialism.** Edward Y. Hartshorne, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. The data are from a prize competition for personal life-histories on the theme "My Life in Germany Before and After January 30, 1933" announced all over the world. Thus far about 250 life-histories of minimum length of 20,000 words have been received from Germany as well as from Germans in other countries.

72. **Responsiveness of Farmers of Dutch Descent to Improved Farming Methods as an Index of Culture Change.** C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

73. **The Efforts of Organized "Reform" Groups to Influence the Motion Picture Industry.** Ruth A. Inglis, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

74. **Forms of Social Organization and Their Conditioning Factors.** Carl S. Joslyn, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

75. **Some Distinctive Characteristics of American Geniuses.** J. H. Landman, College of the City of New York. Data are fifteen hundred biographies of the most famous Americans in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

76. **Techniques of Social Reform.** Alfred McClung Lee, New York University, N. Y. C. First-hand observation of methods now being used. Also, the collection of data on what reformers believe to be successful results.

77. **Eminence among American Women.** Elizabeth Briant Lee, P.O. Box 477, Darien, Conn.

78. **Assimilation of Japanese in Rural Hawaii.** Andrew W. Lind, University of Hawaii,



Honolulu, T. H. Based on interviews, diaries, life-histories, letters, questionnaires, official records, etc., secured by self and Japanese collaborator who has lived for ten years in the community.

79. **Prestige Hierarchies in Rural and Village Populations.** George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont.

80. **Ethnic Epithets and Ethnic Relations.** Robert K. Merton, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. Systematic canvass of current and historical epithets applied to various ethnic groups, analyzed functionally.

81. **Political and Economic Attitudes of White and Negro Students and Their Parents (High School and College Students).** Gildas Metour, Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana.

82. **Personal Disorganization and Social Change.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Data from over a quarter of a million records, case studies, and interviews. Analysis includes comparisons of isometric maps, rates, personality patterns, etc., and differentiation of forms of personal disorganization as logical parts of a continuum in relation to social change.

83. **Sex Regulation and Social Structure.** George P. Murdock, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Based on cultural data from some 200 different societies.

84. **The Radio as a Social Institution.** Martin H. Neumeier, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

85. **Social Class as a Determinant of: (1) Choice of Mate in Marriage; (2) Church Membership; (3) Age at which Pupils Drop Out of School; (4) Public Office Holding.** Cecil C. North, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

86. **Culture-Personality Types among the Various Ethnic Groups in Connecticut.** David Rodnick, 342 Crown St., New Haven, Conn. Life-histories of unselected individuals of each of ten ethnic groups collected by the free association technique.

87. **The Concepts of Interaction and Social Situation.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. A theoretical analysis.

88. **A Study of the Process of Technological Innovation in the Field of Communication with Special Emphasis on the Causes of Resistance.** Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, N. Y. C. Based on library research and interviews.

89. **Medical Progress and Social Change.** *Idem.*

90. **When Peoples Meet: A Study of Race and Culture Contacts.** Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, N. Y. C. with Alain Locke, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

91. **Group Prejudice.** J. Ellis Voss, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Data are about 1000 cases from the vicinity of Philadelphia, and other cases from the South and West of the U. S. are to be added.

92. **Case Study of the Reaction to the Closing of New College.** Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University, N. Y. C.

93. **The Status of Women in Texas.** Mattie Lloyd Wooten, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas.

#### SOCIOLOGY and PSYCHIATRY

(See also: 83, 156, 304)

94. **Mental Health Studied through All the Mental Processes Found in Insanity.** L. Guy Brown, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Based on 1500 cases.

95. **Special Deficiencies as Escape Mechanisms.** *Idem.* Based on student cases collected for fifteen years.

96. **Investigation of Individual and Social Disorders of Adaptation with Special Reference to the Conflict in the Physiological Reaction-Patterns Which Underlie Them.** Trigant Burrow, William Galt, and Hans Syz, The Lifwynn Foundation for Laboratory Research in Analytic and Social Psychiatry, Inc., New York City. A large number of graphs have been taken on twenty subjects in an effort to demonstrate the respiratory changes according as the subject was employed: (1) ordinary intellectual (symbolic) attention; (2) cotention. The data have been analyzed statistically.

97. **The Relationship of Occupation to Mental Disorders.** Robert E. Clark, Office of the

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Sociologist-Actuary, Illinois State Penitentiary, Pontiac, Illinois. The data included 19,969 cases of male first admission from the city of Chicago during the period from 1922 to 1934 to Chicago, Elgin, and Kankakee State Hospital for the Insane, and to a number of Chicago private hospitals.

98. **Mental Disorders in China.** Bingham Dai, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Statistical data on 1135 mental patients admitted to the Peiping Municipal Psychopathic Hospital and 1300 out-patients treated at Peiping Union Medical College. Psychiatric and psychoanalytic interview records of about 100 mental patients.

99. **The Sociological Backgrounds of a Series of Schizophrenic Histories with Particular Reference to Occupational Group Structure and Adolescence.** Nicholas J. Demerath, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Approximately twenty-five histories of graduate students and instructors, including interview data, social background data, and—in most cases—considerable autobiographical material.

100. **A Comparative Analysis of Four Happiness Surveys.** Hornell Hart, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. A comparison of the happiness studies of Terman, Burgess, Goodwin Watson, and Sailer, after reducing their scores to standard measures.

101. **Developing of an Improved Method for Measuring Happiness and for Diagnosing the Causes of Individual Unhappiness.** *Idem.* A combination of the best items in the happiness tests devised by Terman, Burgess, Goodwin Watson, and Sailer, with additional items. This test has been given to a number of groups.

102. **Man and Large-Scale Production in the Automobile Industry.** Sister Mary Edward Healy, Catholic Sisters College, Brookland, D. C.

103. **Suicide.** Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri. A study of 3000 coroners' records and 3000 mental hospital records to determine the predictability of suicide.

104. **Drug Psychoses.** Elizabeth Prohl Moore, 384 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. Histories of all cases (800) admitted to Massachusetts State Hospitals 1917-1938.

105. **Urban and Suburban Patterns of Personal Disorganization.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Data from insanity and suicide records of Cook County, totaling some 45,000 cases. Analysis includes comparison of rates, correlations, isometric maps, etc.

106. **Sex Attitudes and the Cultural Milieu.** Harriet R. Mowrer, 2505 Prairie Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. A comparison of two hundred case studies of American born college students of both sexes, and two hundred case studies of foreign born men and women without college education.

107. **The Diagnostic and Prognostic Significance of the Difference Between the Intelligence Quotient and the Social Quotient in Problem Children.** Florence M. Rosenthal, The Child Guidance Home of the Jewish Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio. A comparison of results from the Binet and Vineland Social Maturity scales on more than 200 children to determine whether the differences between the intelligence quotient and the social quotient show any correlations with (1) the nature of the problems presented by the children as determined by the final diagnosis, (2) their behavior while at the Child Guidance Home, and, (3) the results of the treatment.

108. **A Critical Study of the Environmental influences Responsible for Behavior Disorders of Children, Based on an Analysis of 350 Cases.** *Idem.*

#### POPULATION (SOCIAL BIOLOGY)

(See also: 47, 143, 175, 177, 185, 210, 213, 221, 235, 258)

109. **Natural Increase in Population of New York State.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. An analysis of urban and rural differences in ratio of children (0-5) to women (20-44) to determine areas of natural increase, and the relation of these changes to population movement.

110. **Transmission of Farming as an Occupation.** *Idem.* A questionnaire study filled out by students in two New York counties with respect to occupation of grandfather, fathers, brothers.

111. **Movement To and From Farms in Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky. A questionnaires study of mobility of selected farmers in 120 Kentucky counties, 1938-1940.

112. **Rural Population Changes in Kentucky.** *Idem.* A general analysis of census data for Kentucky, 1860-1940, and its relation to national population changes.

113. **Mobile Homes: A Study of Trailer Life.** Donald Olen Cowgill, Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. Data from questionnaires and participant observation of some 131 trailer families.

114. **Community Adaptations to Population Changes: A Case Study of a Middle Virginia Community (Beaverdam, Virginia).** Allen D. Edwards, Virginia Agricultural Experimental Station, Blacksburg, Virginia. A schedule study of 200 families supplemented by census records since 1860, and local records including the ownership history since 1870 of 100 contiguous tracts of land.

115. **Internal Migration in the United States: 1920-1930.** H. L. Geisert, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Survival rates are used.

116. **A Study of Population and Other "Social Factors" in the Yazoo-Mississippi Backwater Area.** Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, University, La.

117. **A Study of the Industrial and Occupational Structure of the Population of Louisiana.** *Idem.*

118. **Class Birth Rates in England and Wales, 1921-1931.** John W. Innes, Columbia University, New York City.

119. **Population Trends in New Mexico.** Sigurd Johansen, State College, New Mexico. Data primarily from the Federal census reports.

120. **Population Policies in National Socialist Germany.** Dudley Kirk, 20 Nassau St., Princeton, New Jersey.

121. **Differential Fertility Among Married Women Enumerated in the National Health Survey.** Clyde V. Kiser, Millbank Memorial Fund, New York City. Data embraced records of live births and still-births during 1935 among approximately 375,000 urban married women of childbearing age in 83 cities of eighteen states and over 19,000 women of childbearing age in selected rural counties of three states. Birth rates among married women 15-44 have been computed by color, nativity, age, region, and size of city of residence. The data have been cross-classified (a) by occupational status of the head and (b) by occupational status of the head and amount of family income during 1935.

122. **Relationship Between Soil Fertility Depletion and Soil Erosion and Certain Social and Economic Factors of Farm People in Three Selected Areas of Illinois.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Analysis of schedules on 139 farms and homes in three areas (one a good-land area, one a poor-land area, and one a good-land, but eroded, area) which give information on incomes, expenditures, land use, socioeconomic status, attitudes, soil ratings and personal qualities of operators and homemakers.

123. **Nationality Groups in New England: A Study of Population and Acculturation.** John Lobb, South Hadley, Mass.

124. **The Migration of Farm Families to Cities and the Type of Adjustment They Make.** William H. Metzler, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas. Data on all migrant families in fifteen urban areas in Arkansas during the past five years are analyzed.

125. **Population Problems in the Development of Arkansas.** *Idem.* An analysis of the relation between population composition and standard of living and level of cultural development. Data from Census and state reports.

126. **Net White Mobility by Age and Sex Groupings for the Nation's Counties (1930-1940) and States (1920-1940).** Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. An analysis of mobility for age and sex groups estimated in terms of the difference between numbers in these groups for a given census and the expected numbers obtained by applying survivor rates to the totals for these groups as found in the preceding census.

127. **Fertility of the Graduates of a Southern Catholic High School.** Richard J. O'Hare, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

128. **Inter-Tract Mobility of Population of Dallas, Texas, and Houston, Texas, 1923-1938.** Carl M. Rosenquist, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. An analysis of city directory, materials.

129. **Migration and Social Welfare.** Philip E. Ryan, Russell Sage Foundation, N. Y. C.
130. **Occupational and Geographic Mobility in a Rural Alabama Community.** Gilbert A. Sanford, 332 Maynard St., Ann Arbor, Michigan. Analysis of interview and schedule data regarding occupational history, migration history, age, and education for all male white residents of working age.
131. **Population of Louisiana: Fertility and Mortality, Migration.** T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, University, La.
132. **Arizona's Agricultural Population.** E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Analysis of schedule data in terms of location, age, sex, size and composition of household, etc., to set up a more useful classification of rural population in Arizona.
133. **Arizona Migration Survey.** *Idem.* Analysis of schedule data on family, employment, migration, etc., taken from elementary and high school children of parents who arrived in Arizona in 1930 or subsequently.
134. **Differential Fertility in Butler County, Ohio, 1930.** Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio.

## HUMAN ECOLOGY

(See also: 45, 47, 128, 165, 171, 178, 187, 195, 205, 213, 311, 344)

135. **The Mobility of Families in Selected Areas in Pittsburgh.** Peter G. Alapas, 305 Barnes St., Wilkinsburg, Pa.
136. **Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Ideas in the Socio-Economic Development of the Southwest (Arizona and New Mexico) up to 1846.** G. T. Bowden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Data from official archives, church writings, historical reference works, and anthropological studies of primitive peoples in the area.
137. **Ecological Analysis of Bostonians in *Who's Who*, 1928-1938.** Huber C. Callaghan, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
138. **A Sociological Analysis of Italians, Poles, Germans, Ukrainians and Jews in the City of Newark, N. J.** Charles W. Churchill, Works Progress Administration, Elizabeth, N. J. 4500 schedules and numerous case histories. Ecological distribution has been plotted for various demographic factors.
139. **Residential Mobility and High School Success.** Alfred Friedli, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Data include number of moves since enrollment in grammar schools to date for 107 high school seniors; their final academic averages, college aptitude test scores, teachers' estimates of personality traits, and Bernreuter Personality Inventory scores.
140. **Position and Status Among Chinese in Hawaii.** Clarence Glick, Brown University, Providence, R. I. Based on census data for the Hawaiian Islands, 1853-1930; reports of government bureaus; interview materials; case studies of Chinese individuals and of Chinese institutions; publications in Chinese and English about the Chinese in Hawaii; maps showing segregation and dispersion of Chinese by residence.
141. **Cheltenham Township: An Ecological and Social Description of a Suburban Area.** Arthur H. Jones, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
142. **Ecological Analysis of Baltimoreans and Washingtonians in *Who's Who*, 1928-1938.** Paul Kamerdze, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
143. **Urban Typology: Determination of the Indices of Urbanization, Correlation of City Size with Urban Phenomena, and Classification of Cities by Type.** Fenton Keyes, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
144. **Delimiting the Small Metropolitan Area.** John A. Kinneman, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois. Based on newspaper circulation, hospital records, records of college enrollments, county records, wholesale trade records, and employment records.
145. **Transportation and Communication Indexes in the Delimitation of Metropolitan Area of Washington, D. C.** Leo J. Kloos, Jr., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
146. **Changing Cultural Patterns and Social Attitudes in a Frontier Area.** Paul H. Landis, Washington State College, Pullman, Washington. Some 400 schedules of a relief group and a nonrelief control group are being collected by field interviews.
147. **Factors Determining the Status of Minorities.** Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri. Based on 3000 petitions for citizenship and declarations



of intentions filed with Immigration Service; census data on intermarriage; case reports of Americanization Schools.

148. **Ecological Analysis of Persons from Metropolitan Areas in Virginia Listed in *Who's Who*, 1929 and 1939.** John C. Massey, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

149. **Some Economic Indexes Used in the Determination of the Metropolitan Area of Washington, D. C.** Joseph W. McGee, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

150. **Mexican Labor in Texas: Urban and Rural.** Selden C. Menefee, W.P.A. Division of Research, Washington, D. C. Based on interviews with 512 Mexican pecan shellers in San Antonio, and 300 Mexican agricultural workers in Crystal City, Texas, obtained by Spanish-speaking interviewers early in 1939. These schedule data (1938 work histories, personal and family information) are analyzed in the light of the historical backgrounds of Mexican immigration and Texas industries.

151. **The Horizontal and Vertical Mobility of High School Graduates from Rural Towns with Stationary Population over Six Decades, 1880-1940.** Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Based on occupation of father, changes in residence and major occupations since graduation of about 1000 graduates of schools in both Michigan and Oregon.

152. **The Sociological Position of the Japanese Farmers in the State of Washington.** John A. Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. Based on life histories; statistical data from field work and extant documents; files of newspapers; masters' and doctoral dissertations; biographical and historical documents; participation in conventions, projects, and daily life of Japanese farmers; examination of laws, land records, court decisions, and their administration.

153. **The Bases of Informal Social Contacts Made by Urban Young Married Couples as Shown Through Certain Free-Time Activities.** Lucille M. Renneckar, 8702 Elmhurst Ave., Elmhurst, N. Y.

154. **The Trend of Territorial Organization.** Gilbert A. Sanford, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Data will be gathered from bulletins and reports of industries, governmental agencies, and universities for a period of approximately four decades.

155. **The Ecology of Political Behavior in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Seattle, and Tacoma.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Based on election statistics on candidates and special issues; population, housing, and other socioeconomic indices; historical and case material.

156. **A Study of the Relation of Mental Disorders to Social Maladjustments in Ecological Areas in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

157. **The Location of Heirs and of Property Rights in Farm and City Estates.** E. B. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. A statistical study of about 1500 farm estates and about 2000 city estates (Ohio and Arizona) covering: forms of property in estates; amounts received by heirs; residence of heirs at time shares received; amounts received by heirs in cities, in rural districts, in local areas, in concentric areas.

158. **The New Jersey Coast Resort Town as a Field of Ecological Study.** J. Ellis Voss, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Based on all records available through the cooperation of the city commissioners.

159. **Construction of a Dependency Index by Census Tracts and Districts for St. Louis.** Irving Weissman, Social Planning Council of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri. Based on total clearings with the Social Service Exchange during 1939 (30,000 in number).

160. **Preparing a County Street Index for Coding Street Addresses by Census Areas of St. Louis County.** *Idem.*

161. **The Ecological Pattern of Syracuse.** David Yentis, 700 University Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. Based on real property inventory, population census, welfare records.

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also, 41, 72, 78, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 122, 124, 130, 131, 132, 133, 146, 157, 235, 305)

162. **Social Change in a Mid-Western Village During The Past Twenty Years.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Data on number and status of institutions, size and composition of families, changes in residence on farms, changes in social tradition and customs.



163. **Social Participation in Rural Farm Families.** *Idem.* Data on membership and participation in formal organizations of all members ten years of age and over in 850 families in Cortland County, New York.

164. **Determination of Local Area Units for Land-Use Planning.** Howard W. Beers, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky. A statistical study of opinions with respect to mutual acquaintance patterns, common sentiments, habitual group action in relation to land-use planning.

165. **Determination of Social Subareas in Kentucky.** *Idem.* Based on secondary sources, chiefly public statistics.

166. **Local Participation in Land-Use Planning.** *Idem.* Based on interviews with county agents and others and with 1000 farmers in four Kentucky counties including each member of land-use planning committees as well as a "control" group of noncommitteemen.

167. **Rates of Social Change in Kentucky.** *Idem.* All available series of data by counties or minor civil divisions, with readings for two points in time, are to be observed, and trends of increase or decrease thus noted. Supplementary interpretative narrative material from newspapers and documents.

168. **The Significance of Structural Family Characteristics in the Lowest Economic Stratum of Southern Agriculture.** Gordon W. Blackwell, Furman University, Greenville, S. C. Facts concerning structural family characteristics, economic status, and psychophysical characteristics for 1707 farm families on relief in North Carolina in 1933-1934.

169. **Some Factors Affecting Church Attendance in Rural Oswego County.** Loren W. Burch, New Haven, New York. Based on about 1500 completed schedules, a supplementary questionnaire sent to forty ministers, and secondary sources.

170. **Levels of Living and Social Adjustment of Ohio Farm People.** Howard R. Cottam, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Based on personal interviews in farm homes recorded on an eight-page schedule.

171. **A Survey of Virginia Rural Youth.** Allen D. Edwards and W. E. Garnett, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Blacksburg, Virginia. Based on 4000 schedules of out-of-town youth 16-24 years of age, 3000 schedules of in-school youth, 5000 factory records of employment and earnings, and 20,000 employment registration cards. Sampling was of type-situations rather than of rural youth as such.

172. **Methods of Diagnosing Rural Community Organization.** Douglas Ensminger, Washington, D. C. and Dwight Sanderson, Ithaca, N. Y. Based on personal interviews with leaders of all organizations and institutions in ten rural communities in Broome County, New York, and with prominent citizens, and an attempt to establish scales for the measurement of various critical traits of community organization.

173. **Qualitative Migration in a Rural Community of New York State.** Amy A. Gessner, Judson College, Marion, Alabama, and Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. Based on average grades of 494 high school students from 1920-1938, their present residence and vocation, and interviews with all students whose parents are still in the community to obtain data on factors in the parental home influencing migration, including length of residence in community, income, tenure, index of standard of living, etc.

174. **Membership Relations of Farmer's Milk Marketing Associations in New York State.** Duane Gibson, East Lansing, Michigan, and Dwight Sanderson, Ithaca, New York. Based on schedule interviews with 740 farmers in three counties.

175. **Scholastic Achievement as a Selective Factor in Rural Migrations and in Occupational Choice.** Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and Cecil Gregory, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. Information on 5564 former high school students in ninety-seven rural Missouri communities collected. Data gathered on persons who were in school between 1920 and 1930. Study includes data relating to: range of migration, type of community in which person is located at present, occupation, occupation of parents, etc. Scholastic records in high school used as a basis for determining the degree of selection.

176. **A Study of Rural Migrations.** Wayne T. Gray, Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky. About 125 schedules asking where people had worked and why they had changed types of work during the past five years.

177. **Rural Areas of Distress in Louisiana.** S. Earl Grigsby, Ithaca, New York, Based on 1700 family schedules, gathered under the direction of T. Lynn Smith.

178. **An Analysis of the Significant Sociological Processes That are Observable in the Adjustment of Farm Families to Their Environment.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. One northern cut-over county was chosen as the sample and every sixth open-country family is included. The data include: all of the customary biosocial characteristics of the families, their socioeconomic status, significant factors in their social-cultural conditioning, their intra- and interfamily social relationships, and the primary, secondary, and community processes.

179. **History of Noble County, Ohio, From 1890 to 1900.** Millard L. Jordan, Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio.

180. **A Socioeconomic Study of the Acadians in Four Louisiana Parishes.** Edward J. Kammer, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. A complete survey of backgrounds, institutional life, economy of the "Cajuns" in the four parishes.

181. **A Restudy of the Number and Kinds of Organizations in Which Rural People Take Part.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Based on an inventory blank mailed to some 5000 community leaders in the state. Twenty percent return classified by farming-type area and rurality of township of each farming type area.

182. **A Study of Rural Relief.** *Idem.* Data on all agencies giving hom assistance in fourteen counties, representative of rural Illinois, 1934-1937, including types of administration, case loads, costs, employability, reasons for lack of employment, and similar data.

183. **Membership Relations of Farmers' Cooperative Purchasing Organizations.** J. Edwin Losey, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Dwight Sanderson, Ithaca, New York. Based on schedule interviews with 340 farmers in six communities.

184. **Adjustment of Rural Youth to Farm and Home Life.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. About 1000 schedules collected to represent the various areas of Ohio, each giving general information, attitudes toward home life, attitude toward farming and a measure of home environment.

185. **Level of Living and Population Movements in Rural Ohio.** *Idem.* Various data pertaining to plane of living on Ohio farms and in villages and pertaining to population movements. About 1800 farm population schedules have been collected representing 10,000 farms. The analysis includes the construction of a weighted plane of living index by counties, and correlation analysis of plane of living with population movements.

186. **The Ross County Rural Youth Survey.** *Idem.*

187. **The Relation of Migration to Social Mobility of 1000 Farm Families in Oklahoma.** Robert T. McMillan, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. The schedule covered migration and social mobility data, income, farm and family living expenditures, assets and liabilities, family composition, participation in community organizations, and housing. 1200 schedules were obtained in late 1937 and in 1938 in four Oklahoma counties.

188. **The Influence of Tenure on Habits and Attitudes of Farm People.** William H. Metzler, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas. Data from 300 farm families. Correlation of tenure, wealth, and education with farming practices, business habits, family and participation patterns.

189. **To What Extent Rehabilitation Clients in the State are Being Rehabilitated.** *Idem.* A sample of 5000 records from the state office of the Farm Security Administration were tabulated. A field study was made of 300 rehabilitation and ex-rehabilitation clients to aid in interpreting the data. Data were secured on type of farm, diversification, change in net worth, percentage of repayment, value of home-use products, kind and amount of livestock and farm equipment, value of products.

190. **Study of Distribution and Adequacy of Medical Facilities and Services in Nebraska.** James M. Reinhardt, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. Data from medical and hospital directories, institutional reports, conferences with local agency heads, public officials, physicians and consumers of medical services; detailed studies by questionnaires and by conferences of sample rural and small town areas; results compared with existing conditions in urban areas.

191. **Housing Conditions, Work Patterns, and Related Problems of Sugar Beet Laborers in Colorado.** R. W. Roskelley, Colorado State College, Fort Collins, Colorado. The heads of 450 households were interviewed personally. A seven page schedule was filled out. As a means of checking the validity and reliability of this information, employers and social case workers

were contacted. In addition to the schedule, approximately fifty representative case histories were obtained.

192. **Survey of Community Organization in Chilton County, Alabama.** Irwin T. Sanders, Alabama College, Montevallo, Alabama. An attempt to determine community boundaries by questionnaires from 1200 school children regarding service areas; questionnaires for each social organization, for each of seventy neighborhoods, and for churches and schools; and interviews with sixty community leaders.

193. **The Social Effects of Large-Scale Farming.** Sister Agnes Claire Schroll, Sisters College, Brookland, D. C. Based primarily on materials from the Research Division of the United States Department of Agriculture.

194. **Trends of Social Change in Bishmizzeen, an Arab Village of North Lebanon During the Past Fifty Years.** Afif I. Tannus, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

195. **Rural Social Adaptation in the Woodland Area of Northeastern Washington.** Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, Based on interview schedules with fifty old men and women.

### THE COMMUNITY

(See also: 10, 117, 140, 143, 144, 145, 149, 158, 162, 172, 179, 192, 297, 319, 321, 328, 329, 383)

196. **The Ukiah Valley—A Community Study Through Time.** Bernard W. Aginsky, New York University, New York City.

197. **Valid Indices of Community Integration.** Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 'Crime rate' and 'willingness of a community to support its own welfare load' are used as negative and positive indices of community integration. Data on each index obtained for 28 communities from the F.B.I. and the Children's Bureau.

198. **Negro Youth in a Small Middle Western City.** J. Howell Atwood, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. Data as to structure of each of 331 families. Case studies of twenty-two youths from 14 to 27 years of age.

199. **The Jewish Kehila: A Study of the Functions of the Jewish Community.** Zvi Cahn, 22 West 91st St., New York City. Based on historical sources and life histories.

200. **The Community and Its Young People.** M. M. Chambers, American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C. A synthesis of the findings of community youth surveys, and of studies of economic, governmental, and social institutions.

201. **Social Disorganization and Social Movements in Canadian Development.** S. Delbert Clark, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. The data are mainly documentary in nature, revealing the kinds of social problems present in the different regions or communities at certain periods of time, and the nature of social movements which emerged from these respective situations.

202. **The Development of Social Ideas in a Midwestern Town.** Laetitia Moon Conard, Grinnell, Iowa. The ideas of the citizens during eighty years have changed from an individualistic to be a more social emphasis. Data include all local sources.

203. **Social Psychology Analysis of a Small Community.** Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. An attempt to work out a social psychological classification of the members of a community. Based on a statistical analysis of all persons in a small community (200 families). Data include questionnaires, ranking and rating and test materials, and case studies of selected representative persons.

204. **Employment and Personal Histories of the Stranded Workers of Clinton, Massachusetts from 1930 to 1938.** Horace B. Davis, 309 Lake Ave., Newton Highlands, Mass. Based on 750 cases.

205. **The Position of the Negro in the Occupational Structure of New England Cities.** Clarence Glick, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. U. S. Census data; supplementary and interpretative data from interviews, case studies, and from published information.

206. **Factors Influencing Responsiveness of Farmers to Agricultural Extension Work.** C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

207. **The Adjustment of 400 Boys to the C.C.C. Camp, Including a Specific Study of Background Factors that Aid or Hinder Adjustment in the Camps.** Kenneth Holland, American



Youth Commission, Washington, D. C. and Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford, Illinois. Based on fifteen to twenty-page interviews, testing, and questionnaire data.

208. **The Relations of the French and English in Quebec in Business and the Professions.** Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Data from register of physicians in the area, their membership in organizations, their nationality, place of training, present positions, specialties; and from the membership of certain business organizations, as to occupation, financial standing, nationality. Control data from purely English cities of Canada.

209. **Differential Class Attitudes Toward Corporate Property in Akron, Ohio, with Special Reference to the Rubber Industry and the Labor Movement.** Alfred W. Jones, Institute for Applied Social Analysis, New York City.

210. **Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies.** Raymond Kennedy, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

211. **Preliterate Peoples of the Pacific.** William Kirk, Pomona College, Claremont, California.

212. **Occupation as a Basis of Social Classes.** John W. McConnell, New York University, New York City. Based on interviews with a sample group of wage-earners of different occupations and white collar workers, and participant observation in trade unions, clubs, etc.

213. **The French-Canadian American in New England.** John A. Rademaker, Elizabeth Spencer Rademaker, Anders M. Myhrman and Mildred Myhrman, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. Data include life histories of French-Canadian Americans, first, second, and third generation; historical and biographical documents; newspaper files in French and English; census reports; educational reports, church records, photographs, letters, maps, songs, dances, speech; records of native and French-Canadian American institutions in New England.

214. **The Negro Problem: Haiti, United States, and Puerto Rico.** José Columbán Rosario and Justina Carrion, University of Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico. Based on the history and literature on the Negro in the three countries, and a collection of cases pointing out the conflict in Puerto Rico.

215. **A Study of a Group of Negro Children Living in an Alley Culture.** Dora Bessie Somerville, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

216. **Boy and Girl Attitudes Toward Community Organizations.** T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. Data from 3000 boys and an equal number of girls in public schools. Data on recreation, hobbies, leadership qualities they desire, periodicals, etc., are included.

217. **Relationships Among Nigh-Dwellers—the Nature of Social Relationships Between Person and Person Which Exist Partly on the Basis of Residential Proximity.** Frank Sweetser, Jr., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. Data collected in a single- and double-house area in Bloomington, Ind., providing for the exact description of composition and spatial distribution of segments of seven types of personal neighborhoods (acquaintance, name, sight, greet, chat, reputation, observation).

218. **A Comparison of a Delinquent and Nondelinquent Community.** Corrado De Sylvester, 5240 W. Congress St., Chicago, Illinois. Based on some 250 life histories, 400 interviews, 500 questionnaire returns; also data on activities of community life, letters, newspaper articles, and statistical data.

219. **A Nonlocalistic Concept of Community.** Donald E. Webster, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin. An analysis of the literature.

220. **Elements of Community and Disunity in a College Student Body.** *Idem.* Based on 530 questionnaires on preregistration contacts, friendships, dating advisors, formal, and informal activities.

221. **A Re-Survey of New London.** Bessie Bloom Wessel, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.

222. **Ethnic Changes in Certain Connecticut Areas.** *Idem.*

223. **Case Studies in an Italian Slum District of Relations of Individuals in Informal Groups and of Groups to Each Other, with Special Reference to Political and Racketeering Activities.** William F. Whyte, Harvard University, Boston, Mass. Participant observation of "corner boys," politicians, and racketeers; some life histories; observation and discussion. Detailed notes were kept during the observation.



224. **Racial Adjustment in Small Communities.** Dean S. Yarbrough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio. Based on data on housing, employment, delinquency, health, recreation, civil rights, race relations, religion, politics, and the like obtained from interviews, questionnaires, and documentary sources for more than thirty cities.

225. **The Evolution of the American Community.** Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

#### THE FAMILY

(See also: 83, 110, 113, 153, 168, 184, 215, 326)

226. **Discovery of Laws in Social Science.** Bernard W. Aginsky, New York University, New York City. Based on over 200 cases of kinship nomenclature.

227. **The Role of the Lawyer in Divorce Cases in Centre County, Pa., from 1881 to 1939.** G. T. Bowden, 11 Hunt Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

228. **A Study of Child Life in Negro Families on W.P.A. in Washington, D. C.** Ruthann Brennan, 2119 10th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. An analysis of fifty families.

229. **Seven Thousand Marriages: Marriage Ideals in a Low Income Group.** Edmund deS. Brunner, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. Based on a twenty percent sample of the 35,000 replies to a twenty-one item questionnaire sponsored by a nationally known magazine. The items were divided as to actual situation and situation which respondents would consider ideal.

230. **Problems and Trends in Institutional Care for the Aged in an Urban Area (Twin Cities).** Wm. A. Cornell, Macalester College, St. Paul Minnesota.

231. **Widowhood: A Racial Comparison.** Oliver C. Cox, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas. A statistical study of data drawn mainly from marriage records.

232. **The New Problem Family.** Albert E. Croft, University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas. The permanent urban relief family with children in high school. Based on about 2000 cases in Wichita.

233. **An Analysis of Cultural Tensions Encountered in 200 Cases in a Metropolitan Pre-marriage Clinic.** John F. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

234. **The Consistency of Opinions on the Ethics of Birth Control.** *Idem.* An analysis of the results of the repeated administration of a standard opinionnaire on birth control beliefs, at time intervals of approximately four months, to approximately 100 informants.

235. **Age, Propinquity, Occupation, and Previous Marital Status as Factors in Marital Selection in a Rural County of Central Pennsylvania.** Kingsley Davis, The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. The primary data consist of marriage licenses running from 1889 to the present time. In addition, there is material on the human geography and ecology of the region. The sample of marriage licenses will consist of about two thirds of all those ever filed in the county.

236. **The Functional Theory of the Family.** *Idem.* Comparison of the approach of functional anthropology to the study of the family with that of sociology. The aim is to show how cross-fertilization between anthropology and sociology is possible with respect to family study.

237. **The Widow and the Social Structure: A Study in Comparative Sociology.** *Idem.* A comparison of the position of the widow in primitive and civilized societies, past and present, with a view to formulating the fundamental regularities, underlying the institutional patterns of widowhood. Data from as many societies as possible.

238. **The Effect of Personal Attitudes upon Family Organization.** M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. An analysis of the significance of attitudes concerning status as a factor in family organization, as compared with such factors as occupation, income, religion, or education. Data obtained from more than 2000 interviews, supplemented by census tract materials, and checked by a control group.

239. **Formulation of a Schedule for the Study of Personality and Interaction in Marriage.** Joseph K. Folsom, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

240. **The Readjustments to Life of Mature Homemaker-Mothers, in Relation to their Education, and Participation or Nonparticipation in Gainful Work.** *Idem.* Analysis of life history materials on women in their thirties and forties.

241. **The Changing Indian Family in America.** Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. An analysis of family histories of Indians gathered from interviews with Indians in representative tribes of the Pacific Northwest, Plains, and Southwest regions.

242. **Customs, Traditions, and Beliefs of the Chippewa Indians of North America Regarding the Development and Training of the Child.** Sister M. Inez Hilger, St. Cloud School of Nursing, St. Cloud, Minnesota. The data were gathered by personal field work in the years 1932 to 1939 on four Chippewa reservations in Minnesota, three in Wisconsin, and one in Michigan.

243. **Occupational Status as a Factor in Marriage Selection.** Thomas C. Hunt, 46 Park Place, Princeton, N. J. An analysis of data derived directly from marriage license certificates of a single town in Massachusetts.

244. **The Old in the Minority Group Family.** Heinrich Infeld, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. The influence of the "old-age" element in minority groups (Polish and German) upon the tendencies to isolation or assimilation. Case studies of all the members of three generations of selected Polish and German families in Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; interviews with representatives (ministers, lawyers, etc.) of minority groups in New York state.

245. **A Study of Child Life in White Families on W.P.A. in Washington.** D. C. Wivina Mary Kuefler, 2119 10th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. An analysis of fifty families on W.P.A.

246. **Types of Families.** Richard O. Lang, 7701 Georgia Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An examination of the relation of values or rentals and age of head to type of family.

247. **Economics of the Family in Relation of Number of Children.** Frank Lorimer, The American University, Washington, D. C. Based on special tabulation of data from National Study of Consumer Purchases.

248. **Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility.** *Idem.* A field investigation comprising 1000 interviews.

249. **Effect of Specific Environments (institutions and family boarding homes) upon the Physical and Mental Growth and Development of Young Children.** H. L. Lurie, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City. Statistical and clinical studies of physical and mental factors, personality traits and social behavior of matched groups of: three-year-olds raised from early infancy to age of three in an institution and a matched group raised in family foster homes; six-year-olds who have been under the care of an institution up to the age of three and have been cared for since then in a family foster home and a matched group of children in a family foster home.

250. **The Role of the Romantic Complex in Contemporary Marriage Folkways.** Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. A sympathetic introspectional analysis of data from: motion pictures, popular fiction, and popular music.

251. **A Study of Remarriage.** Harriet R. Mowrer, 2505 Prairie Ave., Evanston, Ill. An analysis of factors making for adjustment and conflict in the second marriage in relation to their role in the first marriage. Based on interviews with present and past marriage partners.

252. **Family Organization and Advancing Age.** *Idem.* A psychological and cultural analysis of individuals of various degrees of advancing age and their family adjustments, using interviews and life-history documents.

253. **The Use of Clinical Cases for the Validation of Marriage Adjustment Tests.** *Idem.* Two hundred cases of domestic discord, in which both husband and wife were interviewed and followed over a period of time, are to be rated in terms of probable success and failure of marriage upon the Burgess-Cottrell and Terman scales and compared with the findings of the clinical study.

254. **A Study of the Premarital Cases of the Philadelphia Marriage Counsel.** Emily Harts-horne Mudd, 253 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. An analysis of 200 cases selected from the files of the marriage counsel.

255. **Survey of Intermarriage, Including a Statistical Analysis of Intermarriage in Los Angeles County for Years 1924-1933.** Constantine Panunzio, University of California at Los Angeles, California. An examination of the hypotheses that similarity (or dissimilarity) in race and culture of mate is significantly correlated with relative success (or failure) in marriage, and that the tendency to intermarry is conditioned by two factors (1) the availability of mates and (2) culture similarity. Based on 31,104 marriage license records.

256. **Relation of Economic Depression to the Prevention or Postponement of Marriage.**

James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. An analysis of 30,000 marriage license application records for Cincinnati, 1929-1939, in terms of the hypothesis that economic depressions possibly prevent rather than postpone marriages of a considerable portion of the population.

257. **Social Structure and the Peasant Family in Haiti.** George E. Simpson, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. Based on field study, supplemented by documentary sources.

258. **Similarities of Marriage Partners in Intelligence.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Comparison of the intelligence of marriage partners among alumni of the University of Kansas.

259. **The Step-Child and Step-Parent Relationship.** William C. Smith, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. An analysis of life-histories, agency and school records, and anthropological materials.

260. **The Trailer Family.** T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. An analysis of 100 trailer families.

261. **Trends in Women's Occupations—1900 to Date.** Chase Going Woodhouse, Connecticut College, New London, Conn. Based on federal and state publications.

#### POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 225, 333)

262. **The Sociological Revolt in Jurisprudence.** Moses J. Aronson, P.O. Box 50, Hamilton Grange Station, New York City.

263. **Pedestrian Conformity to a Traffic Regulation.** Steuart Henderson Britt, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Tabulation of behavior of pedestrians at traffic intersections over a fifty day interval to test the degree of conformity to a new regulation under varying conditions, and the relationship of this conformity to the J-curve.

264. **Premeditation and Intent, a Problem in the Social Psychology of Law.** *Idem.* Data from law cases, and from experiments (presumably such as the above).

265. **The Social Psychology of Law.** *Idem.* Based on a collection of legal materials, coupled with materials from the field of social psychology.

266. **Time Lag in the Law: Blood-Grouping Tests in the Courts.** *Idem.* An analysis of blood-grouping techniques, plus examination of all law cases pertaining to blood-grouping tests.

267. **A Realistic Experiment with Newspaper Publicity on the Dies Committee.** Steuart Henderson Britt and Seldon C. Menefee, the George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Based on questionnaires given to experimental and control groups, plus the use of newspaper stories.

268. **A Sociological Analysis of the Work of the Dies Committee.** *Idem.*

269. **The Focus of the Present General Crisis in Social Control.** Charles J. Bushnell, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio. Based on studies of local conditions in Toledo, Ohio, through questionnaires and surveys of housing, slums and other conditions. Consultation of government documents and reports (Real Property Inventory in Toledo and elsewhere); also study of pamphlet literature of pressure groups.

270. **A Confederated World League.** Lewis A. Dexter, 536 Pleasant St., Belmont, Mass. A sociological study of some of the questions involved in federalism.

271. **Social Logic or Beliefs Regarding Public Policies.** Frieda Fligelman, 2509 Parker St., Berkeley, Calif. An analysis of controversial literature pertaining to public policies.

272. **The Modernizing of the Patent System.** S. Colum Gilfillan, 5623 S. Blackstone, Chicago, Ill.

273. **A Critical History of the State Board of Control in Wisconsin.** Virgil E. Long, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.

274. **The Twilight of Capitalism.** Walter John Marx, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. A study of the structure of modern capitalism and of the inherent contradictions which make its collapse inevitable.

275. **Violence in the Steel Industry; a Study in the Field of Social Control.** Brian McCulloch, O. Carm., Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Materials used will be limited to "official" sources—government documents, etc.



276. **Political Aspects of Cultural Pluralism.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York. Based on reports on political activities of America's minorities gathered from various sources.

277. **Realities versus Fictions in Politics: Some Concepts and Definitions.** *Idem.*

278. **War as a Phenomenon of our Social Crisis.** *Idem.* An analysis of the various studies of wars from a sociological standpoint.

279. **Political Trends in the State of Minnesota.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Based on election statistics for most of the presidential and gubernatorial elections in Minnesota, together with historical and other data.

280. **War Problems: Economic and Political Aspect.** Arthur Schweitzer, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming. A comparison of the first and present world wars from data obtained from the official publications of the different governments, the history of the war by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the autobiographies of the statesmen concerned. The nature of the data with regard to the present war is not determined yet.

281. **Objective Bases of Social Class Formation in the United States.** Elbridge Sibley, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Based on statistics already gathered by public and private research agencies: distributions of wealth and income; occupational distributions and occupational shifts of population groups; interrelations of ethnic groupings, educational levels, etc.

282. **Characteristics of Radicals—1932.** Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. Study based on data collected in the Adjustment Service through tests and interviews on 10,000 men and women; complete data for about 900.

283. **The Professional as a Civil Service Employee.** Logan Wilson, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

284. **War Propaganda Today in the United States.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

#### SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

(See also: 70)

285. **Marginal Participants in Organized Religion.** John F. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. An analysis of statistics of attendance and other indices of participation, and life-histories of marginal selves.

286. **Ritual in Chicago's South Side Churches for Negroes.** Vattel Elbert Daniel, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas. An analysis of observation and interview materials in terms of the hypothesis that as various Negro groups increase in status, they become more cognizant of their new position and consciously lessen the intensity of emotional behavior in the church.

287. **Belief and Practice Respecting the Divinity of Rulers in Japan and in Polynesia.** Douglas G. Haring, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. Analysis and comparison of literary sources in terms of Hocart's hypotheses of divine kingship and diffusion of such ideas.

288. **The Social Thought of James Cardinal Gibbons.** William J. Scally, Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C.

289. **A Study of the Protestant Church in the Apartment House Areas of Chicago.** Elmer L. Setterlund, 501 Emery St., Longmont, Colorado. An analysis of statistical and case study materials of churches in six apartment house areas and six single house areas in Chicago.

290. **The Mennonites of Oregon.** William C. Smith, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. A consideration of the hypothesis that the slowness with which the Mennonites have become assimilated has been due not to any innate peculiarity of the members of the group but largely because of opposition which they have met in different places of settlement. Data include documentary sources, interviews, questionnaires.

291. **The Organization of Week-Day Religious Education in the Rural Communities of New York State.** Hugh J. Williams, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. Based on data from 775 school administrators, 300 directors of Week-Day Religious Education programs, and case studies of 15 communities.

#### CRIMINOLOGY

(See also: 61, 218, 263, 264, 265, 266)

292. **Criteria for the Classification of Criminal Behavior.** Walter Webster Argow, New York University, New York City. Based on questionnaire to penal institutions, personal interviews with staff members, and case studies.



293. **Homicide and Race Conflict in the South.** H. C. Brearley, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. Based on approximately 1500 cases from newspaper files, official records, and other sources.
294. **Differential Association as a Causal Process in the Development of Rural Misdemeanors.** George William Brown, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. Based on case histories and interviews with offenders in the State Penal Farm for Misdemeanants.
295. **Survey of Delinquency in a Small City (Rockford, Illinois).** Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill. Statistical data only, covering all juvenile delinquency cases and adult cases in the circuit court for the years 1931-1937. Data on many types of community characteristics, as poverty, home-ownership, boys and girls clubs, etc. About forty maps have been made.
296. **Homicides among Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia, 1934-1938.** Walter Richard Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Based on local daily newspaper files, case studies, interviews with police authorities, prosecuting attorneys, and social workers.
297. **The Prison Community.** Donald Clemmer, Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, Illinois. A "Middletown" type of study.
298. **A Summary of Prison Methods and Standards as developed in the United States.** Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
299. **The Natural History of a Delinquent Gang in Lawrence Kansas.** *Idem.* Interviews with boys and their parents, probation officers, institutional officials; case histories in juvenile court and district court; records at the State Industrial School and Reformatory; boys' own stories; boys' progress in institutions and on placement. Results will be compared with those of Shaw, Young, etc.
300. **A Follow-Up Study of Fifty White Male Juvenile Delinquents Appearing before the District of Columbia Juvenile Court January-June, 1934.** Mildred W. Fraser, National Catholic School of Social Service, Washington, D. C.
301. **Outcome of Men Granted Executive Clemency in Wisconsin 1930-1938.** J. W. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Based on prison and F.B.I. data. Data being analyzed by statistical methods to ascertain whether there is any connection between the circumstances under which they grew up and their reaction to life after being granted clemency.
302. **Criminal Attempt—A Study of Foundations of Criminal Liability.** J. E. Hall, Indiana University Law School, Bloomington, Ind.
303. **Illogical Variations in Sentences of Felons Committed to Massachusetts State Prison.** Harold Edwin Lane, Boston University, Boston, Mass. The proportion of Massachusetts State Prison sentences during a recent five-year period which are illogical in the light of social prognoses based on complete verified case histories of felons committed to Massachusetts State Prison.
304. **A Follow-Up Study of Delinquent Boys Committed by the Children's Court to an Institution and Discharged from this Institution Five to Eight Years Ago.** Maude Moss, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. This group of boys to be compared with those discharged in later years in an effort to evaluate methods and approaches in case work and institutional programs.
305. **Study of Causes of Delinquency in Rural Nebraska.** James M. Reinhardt, University of Nebraska. Data from public and private agency records; case studies of selected inmates of industrial schools, reformatories, state penitentiaries; sociological investigation of sample rural areas to discover local causal conditions inherent in institutional patterns; absence of provisions for child guidance and protection; class and group alignments; attitudes and conflicts; folkways and forms of expressions; community tolerances and intolerances of forms of exploitation, recreation, occupational activities, etc.
306. **Differential Association in Negro Delinquency.** Harvey Russell, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
307. **Differential Association as a Causal Process in the Development of Urban Felonies.** John Russell, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. Based on case histories and interviews with offenders in the State Prison for Felons.
308. **Analysis of Sex Offenders Seen in the Recorder's Court Clinic from 1930 through 1939.** Lowell S. Selling, M.D., Psychopathic Clinic, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan. Data are taken from the file of the Recorder's Court Clinic. Examinations in the Clinic are: medical, psychiatric, psychological, and include extensive social histories. Over 3000 cases

have been studied and put on punched cards. They are to be compared with the general criminal population, comprising about 12,000 thoroughly studied cases, and where possible to be compared with the general population of the city.

309. *Study of One Hundred Traffic Offenders. Idem.* Data are collected through physical, psychological, psychiatric and social histories from cases referred to the Traffic Division of the Recorder's Court Clinic. Based on 1000 cases of traffic offenders and license applicants, approximately 200 control cases—all of whom have also had questionnaires comprising 200 questions.

310. *The Watchman Combats the Arsonist.* Richard C. Steinmetz, Mill Mutual Fire Prevention Bureau, Chicago, Illinois. An examination of confidential arson investigation reports and personal interviews with law enforcement authorities, confessed arsonists, and private investigators.

311. *The Ecology of Crime.* T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

312. *The Corporation as a Criminal.* Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. Based on reports of congressional and other investigations, regular reports of bureaus dealing with corporations, biographical and autobiographical accounts of corporate members.

313. *Crime and Delinquency in Ogden, Utah and in Rural Residence Types of Six Utah Counties, 1932-1937.* Joseph N. Symons, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah. Based on about 2300 attitudinal rating sheets (Thurstone and Katz, "Attitude toward Law"); all records of penal units, justices of the peace, school coordinators, etc.; and 150 case studies of offenders from the four rural residence types and the urban.

314. *Social Reconditioning of Young Adult Male Offenders (19-29).* Pauline V. Young, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif. Based on life histories of 350 offenders and a statistical analysis of 2000 cases.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

(See also: 107, 108, 129, 182, 190, 232, 269, 300, 314)

315. *Social and Statistical Data Necessary to a Government Low-Cost Housing Project.* Edward S. Boyer, James Millikin University, Decatur, Illinois.

316. *Social Adjustment through the Educational Programs of the W.P.A. in Rhode Island.* Wm. R. Clark, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Review of official literature, interviews with officials and clients, observation of programs, questionnaires to 300-400 cases.

317. *Negro Organizations in Washington, D. C., Interested in Social Justice.* Mary Ethel Coleman, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

318. *Status-Gaining Devices among Welfare Agencies.* Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Analysis of the records of private agencies; consultation of the records of Community Chests and Community Funds; analysis of the official records of State, city, and court agencies or Departments of Social Welfare; life-historical analysis through interviews.

319. *A Study of Community Organization for Child Welfare in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.* Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Study of all available secondary data and field interviews of all agencies (institutional and noninstitutional) interested in offering some form of child welfare service, covering the age range from zero to twenty-one. An effort is also made to develop a methodology for county-wide studies of community organization for various social services.

320. *Social Implications of the Work of Blessed Martin de Parres, O.P.* Sister Leo Marie Preher, O.P., Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

321. *A Survey of Recreation and Leisure-Time Activities in Lewiston and Auburn, Maine.* John A. Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

322. *Children in Foster Care in New York State, 1911-1938.* David M. Schneider, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y. Data from individual reports to the Department concerning children admitted and discharged from child-caring institutions and agencies throughout the state; also annual statistical and financial reports from these organizations.

323. **Volume, Distribution, and Cost of Hospital Care in New York State.** *Idem.* The data presented in this study are based on annual reports received by the State Department of Social Welfare from public and private hospitals throughout the state.

324. **The Authenticity of Group Work as a Method for Educating People to Live Together and to Cooperate Creatively.** Philip L. Seman, Jewish People's Institute.

325. **An Analysis of the Social Case History.** Ada Eliot Sheffield, 31 Madison St., Cambridge, Mass. To determine what mode of selecting and arranging data would make this fund of personal cultural situations best available for study by sociologists.

326. **Illegal Families among the Clients of Family Agencies.** Raymond B. Stevens, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. Data obtained on fifty-seven agencies in Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts by letters of inquiry.

327. **Census of W.P.A. Case Load as of September 12, 1939.** Irving Weissman, Social Planning Council of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.

328. **Personnel Practices of 133 Social Case Work, Group Work, and Community Organization Agencies in St. Louis and St. Louis county.** *Idem.*

329. **Preparing a Community Resources Book for St. Louis, St. Louis county, Statistical Districts of St. Louis City, and Urban Areas of St. Louis county.** *Idem.*

330. **Study of the Academic and Work Backgrounds, and Interest in Professional Training, of Paid Recreational Workers in St. Louis.** *Idem.*

331. **Study of Applications During August, September, and October, 1939, of Seven Private Family Service Agencies in St. Louis and St. Louis county.** *Idem.*

332. **Survey of Community Resources for Physically Handicapped Persons.** *Idem.*

333. **Administration in Conference and Group Discussion Situations.** Hobart N. Young, Stanford University, California. Based on administrative records from the given conference, plus records specially established and reports undertaken by reason of the presence of the participant observer.

#### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

(See also: 29, 139, 220, 284, 324)

334. **Use of Leisure of College Students.** Read Bain, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Based on schedules kept for two weeks by a representative sample of 300 students in four colleges.

335. **A Study of Nonathletic Clubs in the Diocesan High Schools for Boys in Philadelphia.** Brother Germanus Leo Borneman, De La Salle College, Washington, D. C.

336. **A Standardized Test for the First Course in Sociology.** Leo M. Brooks, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. and Thomas H. Grafton, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia.

337. **Development of Higher Education in the Middle West.** Jordan T. and Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

338. **Public Education and Social Selection.** Albert E. Croft, Wichita University, Wichita, Kansas. Study of educational and social data available from public records on nearly 2500 cases of withdrawals from high school during a ten year period, and from questionnaires to individuals; also interviews and case studies.

339. **Interrupted College Careers: A Statistical Case Study.** Morton F. Fosberg, 12 Arden St., New York City. Based on school data for 219 students and additional data on 85 of them.

340. **Recent Trends in Public School Adult Education in the United States.** Andrew Hendrickson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

341. **A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Active Participation in Extracurricular Activities to the Scholastic and Social Adjustment of College Students.** Reuben L. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Data from secondary sources and the university records on 2000 students; some primary data from this same group by questionnaire. Social adjustment inventories will be administered periodically to, and interviews will be had with, a control group and experimental group of 200 students during the three years of the project.

342. **Comparison of Factors Influencing Participation in Extracurricular Activities at Drexel Institute, Fenn College and the University of Cincinnati.** Millard L. Jordan, Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio.



343. **Factors Influencing Participation in Extracurricular Activities at Fenn College, *Idem*.**
344. **A Study of Adult Participation in Educational Activities in the Light of Certain Socio-economic and Ecological Factors.** A. Abbott Kaplan, Springfield School Department, Springfield, Mass. Twenty ecological areas were selected in the City of Springfield, Mass. A schedule was used by investigators in a random sampling of each area. Approximately 5200 cases have been secured.
345. **The College and Occupational Mobility.** John Ballenger Knox, 184 Stiles St., Elizabeth, N. J. Data on education, occupation, and prominence of fathers, and preparatory education, scholastic standing, extra-curricular activities, occupation and prominence of 3268 graduates of Harvard College in the Classes of 1880 and 1881, 1894 and 1895, 1911 and 1912, and 1924 and 1925. Data obtained from Harvard records and class reports.
346. **The Causes for the Failure of Teachers.** L. O. Lantis, State Teachers College, Minot, N. D.
347. **Vocational Training and Employment of Youth.** Selden C. Menefee, W.P.A. Division of Research, Washington, D. C. 3042 vocationally-trained students in four cities—St. Louis, Birmingham, Denver, and Seattle—were interviewed and their work histories obtained. This study was a byproduct of the W.P.A. Survey of Youth in the Labor Market conducted in seven cities in 1938.
348. **Teaching the Social Aspects of Medicine to Students in Public Health and Medicine.** Elizabeth G. Pritchard and Joseph Hirsh, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.
349. **A Survey and Comparative Study of Introductory Sociology Textbooks Used in Catholic Colleges.** John R. Reidy, Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C.
350. **The Development of Educational Sociology in American and Abroad.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, N. Y.
351. **Attitudes of College Women Toward Women's Vocations.** Raymond B. Stevens, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. Ratings from 150 students (41 percent of the student body) on twenty-five vocations frequently entered by college graduates on basis of contribution to society, financial return, social prestige, preferred vocations and probable vocations; and accompanying data on residence, profession of father and/or mother, class in college.
352. **Unemployment in the Learned Professions in the United States of America.** Gladys R. Walker, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
353. **An Inquiry into Courses on the Family in Relation to the College Curriculum in General.** B. B. Wessel, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
354. **Certain Social or Extratheoretical Factors in the Patterning of University Research.** Logan Wilson, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. Data from interviews, polls of several hundred members of various academic disciplines, compilations and statistical tabulations of bibliographical and biographical data for top ranking individuals, qualitative data from the files of the A.A.U.P., miscellaneous materials from published sources on university organization in relation to research activity.

#### THEORY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

(See also: 37, 197)

355. **Social Adjustment and Social Problem—a New Definition.** Lewis A. Dexter, 536 Pleasant St., Belmont, Mass.
356. **The Nature of Social Disorganization.** Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.
357. **A Study of the Usefulness of Measures of Social Participation.** Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. A review of published data supplemented by field studies employing various scales in nonstandardized schemes.

#### NEW AND REJOINED MEMBERS, 1940

- W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia  
 Donald L. Foley, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York  
 Myson S. Heidingsfield, Hotel Marcy, 720 West End Ave., New York, New York



Joseph A. Homer, 134 S. Fairmount St., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
 Herman J. Kloefer, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee  
 Harvey J. Locke, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana  
 Mary Elizabeth Percival, 2332 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
 George Simpson, Queen College, Flushing, New York  
 Paul J. Trout, 721 Kimbal Ave., New Kensington, Pennsylvania  
 H. Ashley Weeks, 305 Oak St., Pullman, Washington

#### REPORT OF CENSUS OF MEMBERSHIP

Upon the suggestion of the Committee on Organization, the following summary of the Census of Membership has been prepared. The abbreviated report is for the general information of members prior to the vote on the Committee's report which will be taken early in September by mail ballot.

The division of our present membership on the basis of the three criteria, education, position, and publication, is as follows:

Present Members Classifiable:	Number	Percent
As Fellows	289	41.0
As Members	321	45.5
Unclassified	95	13.5
Total	705	100.0

The total number of members (705) reporting by the date of summary July 9, 1940, is 69.9 percent of the total present membership (1008). These figures do not include chapter and honorary memberships.

This preliminary distribution was made by the secretary who was instructed to add an unclassified category for those members concerning whose qualifications he was in doubt. Those at present reported as unclassified will be redistributed by the Committee on Organization if the necessity arises as a result of the September vote.

H. A. PHELPS

*Secretary, American Sociological Society*

#### A NOTE ON REORGANIZATION

If the academic profession is to attain the drawing power and general prestige of law, engineering, and medicine, there is no doubt that it should lessen the present overemphasis upon pecuniary rewards and give more attention to the elaboration of degrees and formal statuses, honorific badges and titles, as well as other symbols of success. The low level of differentiation now supplies neither motivation for new recruits nor adequate modes of recognition for those of established position. Since it is generally recognized that a "society of equals" has no functional justification in a professional organization, the proposal to reorganize the membership of the American Sociological Society on a two-class basis cannot but meet with approval.

The only legitimate objection to such a proposal is that it does not go far enough in establishing a genuine system of stratification. Much confusion is now caused by the present type of achieved status, and in the minds of many there is no clear-cut distinction between the sheep and the goats. What is needed is some initial gerontocracy or small inner circle to eliminate the existing confusion by ascribing status on a systematic basis. A ready solution would be provided thereby for the complex problem of what constitutes achievement, and a large and diverse group of specialists could be ascribed to places in what might later evolve into a hierarchy.

Suggestions can be derived from other cultures in finding models for reorganization. The caste system, for instance, affords interesting possibilities. New recruits and those who have never published anything could form the untouchables; a Sudra group would consist of those who have turned out a few articles of no particular importance; a Vaisya caste could be set aside for textbook writers and for persons of minor renown for specialized monographic works; Society politicians and organizers would make excellent Kshatriyas; and finally, a Brahman caste would be reserved for the founders of systems and creators of schools. Such an arrangement might create a little dissatisfaction at first, but in the course of time it would eliminate much back-biting and scrambling.

Or, if the caste system be deemed not feasible, models may be had from many primitive practices. In order to achieve a full fellowship, initiates might be required to undergo some kind of intellectual subincision, or better still, a form of scarification. Forehead markings would relieve the academic abdomen of any further weighting with cumbersome keys and badges, would be visible from a greater distance, and might undergo progressive elaboration or coloration with each rise in status (a small fee for the support of the Society being charged for each added ornamentation). Likewise, annual meetings could be livened up considerably and research stimulated by some modified form of potlatching, in which rival schools of thought could gather about their leaders and see which side could produce the largest heap of its own books and manuscripts to be burnt before the whole assemblage at the Society dinner.

Other procedure will doubtless occur to members as a substitute for the present undifferentiated and indefensible scheme of organization. In the meantime, the Organization Committee should not be deterred by defenders of the *status quo* and others within the Society who are subversive to progress.

LOGAN WILSON

*University of Maryland*

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## CURRENT ITEMS

**A Communication.** Robert K. Merton has prepared the following rejoinder to Jessie Bernard's criticism of his article. "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinions," *American Sociological Review*, Feb. 1940, 13-28. Dr. Bernard's criticism appeared in the June 1940 *Review*, pages 415-417. This is the last item that will be printed in connection with this particular article.—R. B.

Sir: Dr. Jessie Bernard's comments on my discussion of the Thurstone procedure for 'measuring' attitudes involve several issues which are perhaps significant enough to merit brief reexamination. Dr. Bernard's objections do not deal directly with the central theses of my paper: (1) the Thurstone 'scales' do not constitute linear continua (involving additivity); (2) on the basis of intuitions of judges, the 'scales,' rank but do not measure opinions. Thurstone's operations enable us to say that one opinion is more or less favorable to a value than another opinion but not that it is twice or thrice as favorable. The assignment of ordinal numbers to these opinions in the fashion prescribed by the Thurstone techniques does not justify their manipulation as if they were cardinal numbers. Finally, the familiar analogies drawn between the Thurstone 'scales' and such measuring instruments as thermometers, manometers, etc., do not hold inasmuch as the Thurstone data are not shown to be uniquely connected with phenomena independent of those involved in their definition.

Dr. Bernard singles out five points for criticism.

1. (Issue). "The inevitable result of multiple endorsements of statements lying at either extreme of the 'scale' is a score which is less extreme than that obtained by endorsing *only* the limiting statement. . . ."

(Dr. Bernard's comment). "It seems quite obvious that a person who marks statements with lower scale values has so greatly *modified* his position as expressed in the limiting statement, that if his final score were not lower than that of a person who had not so *modified* his position, I would think the scale was defective." (Italics inserted).

(Rejoinder). Dr. Bernard begs the question by assuming additivity and the group-property as characteristics of the Thurstone collection of statements.

Dr. Bernard equivocates by asserting that the subject who endorses the limiting statement and other markedly unfavorable opinions "modifies" his position. The word "modifies" is here manifestly used to imply "makes less unfavorable" which is precisely the point at issue. To illustrate with examples from the Hinckley-Thurstone scale, Form A:

*A* endorses the limiting statement (number 5): "I place the Negro on the same social basis as I would a mule." (Scale-value=0.0.)

*B* endorses the same statement *and* number 10: "No Negro has the slightest right to resent, or even question, the illegal killing of one of his race." (Scale-value=1.1.)

On Dr. Bernard's view, *B* is more favorable (less unfavorable) toward 'the Negro' than is *A*, because his score is higher. Has this been validated by criteria outside the scale? As it stands, this view involves a begging of the question which derives from the assumption of additivity for a collection which does not possess the group-property. This invalid *assumption* leads to the paradox that the larger the number of extremely unfavorable statements checked by a subject the "more favorable" is his "average attitude."

2. (Issue). Thurstone's 'scale' is not linear; subjects do not necessarily endorse statements with scale-values intermediate between the extremes of those actually endorsed.

(Dr. Bernard's comment). "This idiosyncrasy does not mean that the units or the measuring instrument are wrong, any more than the fact that *sometimes* a man's blood pressure is

50 points higher than *at another time* means the instrument which measures it is wrongly calibrated. If people are illogical, measuring instruments cannot make them logical. In such cases, all we can do is average their illogicalities." (Italics inserted).

(Rejoinder). Dr. Bernard again begs the question of additivity and contributes a false analogy. The suggestion that we "average illogicalities" *assumes* the very linearity which is in dispute. Moreover, we are not discussing differences of attitude *at different times* but at a given time. If the analogy must be used (and, as previously indicated, it is hardly defensible), then to be tenable it should be shown that a man's blood pressure could register, say, 90 and then 140, without having passed through the intermediate scale-values calibrated on the pressure-gauge.

3. Dr. Bernard suggests that I criticize Thurstone for "having imposed logic upon his measuring instrument" and that "no one would think of criticising an invention in the physical realm for being logical."

(Rejoinder). This imputes to me an absurd position which is found nowhere in my paper. Thurstone is criticized, not for using logic in the construction of his instrument, but for tacitly assuming, at one point, that subjects hold logically consistent opinions (and attitudes). This may be checked by consulting the original text.

4. Dr. Bernard observes that I criticize, by implication, "measuring instruments because they do not tell us more about the object measured than they were designed to tell."

(Rejoinder). It would be more accurate to say: "because they do not tell us as much as they were designed to tell." This objection was explicitly anticipated in the initial paper (pp. 17-18). As stated there, it is agreed that no scientific construct seeks to deal with all aspects of a class of phenomena. "The fault of Thurstone's constructs is not their abstractness but their failure to constitute a continuum" involving measured magnitudes.

5. Dr. Bernard holds that my "imputation to Thurstone of an assumption 'that persons hold rigorously consistent social opinions' is wholly unwarranted."

(Rejoinder). I did not maintain, as Dr. Bernard seems to believe, that this assumption was introduced by Thurstone at the stage when opinions are *sorted by judges*. It is introduced in applying the criterion of "irrelevance" when a list of opinions is submitted to *subjects for endorsement* (not for sorting). This is explicitly stated in the text of my paper (p. 20). It is supported by a direct quotation from Thurstone and Chave (n. 17). It is further clarified by reference to a ten-page discussion in Thurstone and Chave (n. 19). Dr. Bernard's 'close reading' of my close reading of Thurstone was apparently not quite close enough.

At the close of her communication, Dr. Bernard for some reason interprets my paper as a would-be repudiation of all measurement in sociology. Of course, she is at liberty to do so, but this interpretation is clearly incorrect. Criticism of a particular effort to devise a measuring instrument does not imply a heroic but meaningless repudiation of all measurement.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

## OBITUARY NOTICE

RODERICK DUNCAN MCKENZIE (1885-1940)

It was with deepest grief that his numerous friends learned of the death of *R. D. McKenzie*.<sup>1</sup> After an illness of several years which greatly handicapped his research and administrative activities, he was cut off in what is the prime of life for a scholar.

<sup>1</sup> Roderick Duncan McKenzie was born at Carman, Manitoba, February 3, 1885. He took his A.B. degree at the University of Manitoba, 1912; Ph.D. at University of Chicago, 1921; naturalized, 1922. He taught economics at Manitoba Agricultural College, 1912-1913, and then did graduate work at the University of Chicago for two years, after which he was called to Ohio State University to teach economics and sociology, 1915-1919. His other academic posts were: University of West Virginia, 1919-1920; University of Washington, 1920-1929;



He left a great deal of unfinished work some of which may be published posthumously. The principal part of this work is a systematic treatise on human ecology upon which he had been working for several years. It is now being prepared for publication by Mrs. McKenzie and one of Professor McKenzie's graduate students. He had long been recognized as one of the leading ecologists and had made enduring contributions to this field especially as it deals with the urban community, but there is little doubt that his greatest contributions were yet to come.

In addition to his scholarly work, he rendered a great deal of public service, performed useful editorial functions, served the American Sociological Society in various official capacities, and always could be counted on for sound advice in matters personal, professional, and public. He was richly endowed with the good common sense frequently attributed to Scotchmen, and his years of experience in business gave his counsel a quality quite removed from what is often called "academic impracticality." McKenzie always had his feet on the ground and seldom indulged in the hair-splitting terminological disputes of which many sociologists are so fond. He was a man who had profound respect for facts and believed they must be found before elaborate interpretations or theoretical constructions can be safely undertaken.

While McKenzie was a hard-headed Scot, there was nothing dour or canny about him. He was always congenial and kindly and completely incapable of petty jealousy and doubtful dealing. He was generous to a fault and devoid of any tendency to promote his own interests, academic or otherwise, at the expense of others. Few members of the Society had a greater number of friends among all factions, "schools," and interest groups. He was always "above the battle," or at least out of it, when any shadow of acrimony appeared. He was sincerely devoted to the concept of sociology as a natural science and was always ready and eager to take part in any activity which would advance scientific sociology. In pursuing this goal, he never erred in the direction of particularism, but always recognized that many men with diverse talents must work at the common task according to their interests and abilities. He was a stimulating teacher of many graduate students and had a gift for guiding them into the fascinating field of research in which he specialized.

In his early studies of the neighborhood, he made one of the first intensive investigations along the lines of what has come to be called the "Chicago ecological group." He collected a great deal of empirical evidence to show that the old neighborhood unit idea was sadly out of focus, at least, in urban communities. He proved

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University of Michigan, department chairman, 1930-1940. He was special investigator of urban problems, President's Committee on Recent Social Trends, 1929-1930; during the war, he was an administrative officer in the Red Cross, and an investigator for the Food Administration of Ohio in 1919. He was a member of the American Sociological Society, Sociological Research Association, American Statistical Association, Institute of Pacific Relations, Michigan Academy of Sciences and the Masaryk Sociological Society of Czechoslovakia. His principal publications are: *The Neighborhood*, 1921; *Oriental Exclusion*, 1927; *L'Evolution Economique du Monde*, 1928; *The Metropolitan Community*, 1933. This latter work is the Monograph upon which chapter 9, "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities," in *Recent Social Trends*, was based. His more important articles in the learned journals are: "Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Nov. 1924, 287-301; "The Scope of Human Ecology," *J. Ap. Sociol. (Sociol. and Soc. Res.)*, March 1926, 316-323; "Spatial Distance and Community Organization Pattern," *Social Forces*, June 1927, 623-627; "Concept of Dominance and World Organization," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1927, 28-42; "Spatial Distance," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, July 1929, 536-544. He died at Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 6, 1940.

the existence of "natural areas," with their varying degrees of heterogeneity and homogeneity, thus demonstrating the position-producing effects of population, subsistence, and spatial factors. Later, he extended his thought to include the entire world as an ecological unit. He introduced the time-space-cost concept of spatial distance and showed that the concepts of dominance, invasion, segregation, and succession could be applied to national and international areas as well as to the urban community.

McKenzie came into sociology somewhat later than most men do, but with a wide background of experience which made him a realistic sociologist. His was a careful, persistent type of mind. He thought a great deal more and wrote a great deal less than many men and both his thinking and writing were always of high quality. It is probable that during the next twenty years, he would have continued making substantial contributions to his chosen field. His creative period was limited to about fifteen years, but he produced a solid body of work in that brief time. In a sense, this was merely the preparation for the greater achievements which he undoubtedly would have made if he had kept his health.

American sociology has lost one of its leaders. Hundreds of sociologists have lost a warm personal friend.

READ BAIN

*Miami University,  
Oxford, Ohio*

#### BREAKFAST AND LUNCHEON MEETINGS

Breakfast and luncheon meetings during the next annual meetings of the Society at the Congress Hotel in Chicago, Dec. 27, 28, 29, 1940 will be arranged for those organizations which request it. In order to get these meetings listed on the official program, the announcements must be sent to the secretary, H. A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., at once.

Announcements and arrangements are made only for those organizations which are part of the Society or closely affiliated with it. Be sure to give the expected attendance and any other pertinent information.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

*The National Education Association*, 1201 Sixteenth Street, New York, announces the twentieth annual observance of "American Education Week," Nov. 10-16, 1940. The general topic "Education for the Common Defense." Each day will be devoted to a special phase of this subject. The daily topics are: Enriching Spiritual Life; Strengthening Civic Loyalties; Financing Public Education; Developing Human Resources; Safeguarding Natural Resources; Perpetuating Individual Liberties; and Building Economic Security.

Materials are being prepared for all types of schools to carry out this observance. They will be ready by September 1, 1940, and may be had by schools, teachers, and all interested organizations by writing to the above address.

*A Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion* will be held September 9, 10, 11, 1940, at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Broadway and 122nd Street, New York. This organization has been founded recently by eighty-one eminent men for the purpose of unifying thought in the various fields of learning and vitalizing democracy in the face of the rising wave of totalitarian dictatorship.

MacIver and Sorokin will represent sociology, while Jacques Maritain, Edwin G. Conklin, Harold D. Lasswell, Albert Einstein, and other eminent men in the three general fields of knowledge are scheduled for addresses.

The headquarters of the Conference is at 3080 Broadway, New York. Criticisms and suggestions are solicited.

# BOOK REVIEWS

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*Treatment and What Happened Afterward.* By WILLIAM HEALY and AUGUSTA F. BRONNER. Boston: Judge Baker Guidance Center, 1939. Pp. 54. \$0.60.

The number of pages in this monograph tends to give the casual reader a completely false impression of its importance and value. Within the fifty-four pages will be found the results of an extremely important study made at the Judge Baker Guidance Center. These results are not only of value but they are surprising. They are surprising because studies which have dealt with the results of care for behavior problem children have indicated that the treatment process does not materially affect the lives of these children to any great extent once care is terminated. It is true that studies of this kind have seldom dealt with children who received the best of care; nevertheless it seems that regardless of the care given to children, little has been achieved in this field of social work. The present work of Healy and Bronner is an exception to this general trend. The study is concerned with the careers of children who were subjected to treatment by a child guidance clinic. It constitutes, therefore, an attempt to appraise the work of the child guidance clinic in terms of the behavior of children after the work of the clinic had come to an end. The data presented in the monograph pertain to 400 cases treated at the Judge Baker Guidance Center from the early months of 1931 through January, 1934. The follow-up investigation took place from five to eight years after the treatment process had been completed.

The 400 children treated fell into three general classes of problems: personality or behavior problems (207 cases); non-court delinquents (137 cases); delinquents referred from Juvenile Courts (56 cases). The classification of children into these three categories was made in accordance with some overt manifestations of behavior. The ages of the children treated ranged from 6 to 20 years with the median falling within 13 and 14 years. The series includes 280 boys and 120 girls.

The follow-up investigation revealed that the treatment accorded these children was successful to a considerable extent. Ninety-one percent of the children classified as personality and behavior problems had favorable after-treatment careers. Seventy percent of the non-court delinquents and



70 percent of the court delinquents had favorable after-treatment careers. In judging the after-treatment careers of the 400 children, Healy and Bronner adopted twelve groupings, eight of which were placed under the title "Favorable," and four under "Unfavorable." Under the "Favorable" title were listed the following: unexpectedly rapid or unexpectedly good response and continued success (39 cases); problems solved, less rapidly but with steady improvement (174 cases); problems solved but some adjustments limited by intellectual handicaps or unmodifiable life situations (22 cases); main problem solved but some undesirable personality traits persist (30 cases); problem successfully solved, although in early stages individual occasionally influenced by bad environment (16 cases); much improvement in most particulars but not all (24 cases); much improvement, but limited by intellectual handicaps or unmodifiable life situations (16 cases); great success for over five years following early period of great failure (2 cases). The "Unfavorable" listings included: mild personality problems, for which referred, largely unresolved (3 cases); failure through new delinquency after 2½ to 5 years of much improvement or even great success (9 cases); largely failure (30 cases); great failure (35 cases). The authors in deciding upon these criteria point out that they have attempted to sketch the growth and development of the individual over a period of years, an objective which makes the conventional terms "success" and "failure" inadequate.

An analysis of the major causes determining the after-treatment careers revealed that abnormal personalities accounted for 48 percent of those careers listed as unfavorable. The authors, however, caution the reader not to make too hasty judgments about single items as being determinative of behavior. They point out that it is their belief that the causes determining the outcome of treatment are nearly always complex.

The extremely favorable results presented in this monograph are especially significant in light of the rather discouraging results revealed by studies of diverse methods employed in the treatment of delinquent and behavior problem children. The data presented in this monograph are indicative of the effectiveness which accompanies the utilization of the clinic as a treatment agency.

This latest of a series of distinguished monographs written by the eminent directors of the Judge Baker Guidance Center is further evidence of the value that accrues to all agencies willing to subject its work to a critical evaluation. It is to be hoped that other social work agencies follow the example set by the Judge Baker Guidance Center.

ELIO D. MONACHESI

*University of Minnesota*

*Crime and Society.* By NATHANIEL F. CANTOR. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1939. Pp. xiii + 459. \$3.00.

Crime is generally regarded as a major problem in the United States. At the present time books about crime are at least a minor problem. In this vigorous and forthright volume Cantor poses two major problems and then

proceeds to attempt to solve them. These problems he states are "(1) to know the facts of crime and (2) to do something about reducing crime itself." Tackling the first problem he rolls up his sleeves and disposes of the etiology and dynamics of crime, or delinquency as he calls it, with expedition and dispatch in about twenty-five pages. This section we shall merely mention as brief and wholly unsatisfactory, but it seems certain that the primary aim of this volume is to examine the adequacy and soundness of our entire crimino-legal structure. It would be a decided understatement to say that Cantor has performed heroically and has produced as shrewd and as intelligent an analysis of that structure in relation to modern economic organization as is to be found in any single volume at the present time. While certain contradictions are to be found, they are of a minor nature. The analysis of interpersonal relationships and the basic meaning of punishment are too strongly psychoanalytic for so conservative a person as this reviewer, although they are persuasively and attractively presented. The inconsistencies of the criminal law and the lore-laden procedure are skillfully described. The proper role and function of social case work and the inevitable automatism of prisoner conduct are excellent short essays intelligently conceived and lucidly explained. Cantor's own thesis for crime prevention is that each individual must be "adequate and/or secure." The doctrine of "belongingness" comes in at this point. The dilemma created by Christian idealism and business realism reveals the conflict between ought and is. Cantor has solved nothing, but he certainly knows what the problems are. Being interested in the mechanics of book writing, this reviewer likes to find the initials of the authors listed in the name index.

J. P. SHALLOO

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Organization and Teaching of Social and Economic Studies in Correctional Institutions.* By GLENN M. KENDALL. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. Pp. xii + 159. \$1.85.

*Education Within Prison Walls.* By WALTER M. WALLACK, GLENN M. KENDALL, and HOWARD L. BRIGGS. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. Pp. viii + 187. \$2.25.

Since 1925 more progress has been made in developing educational programs in prisons of the United States than in the previous seventy-five years. These two books are descriptions of the new educational programs in the penal and correctional institutions of New York state. They supplement A. H. MacCormick's volume on *The Education of Adult Prisoners, a Survey and a Program* published in 1931. The book by Wallack, Kendall, and Briggs is a description of the educational program in all of the penal and correctional institutions of New York state, while the volume by Glenn M. Kendall is a study of the organization and procedures in the teaching of social and economic studies. No other state has attempted to analyze the educational needs of the inmates as carefully as New York. This experiment

in applying educational methods to the entire treatment of the criminal, and conceiving education in a broader sense than the term usually connotes, is a most interesting one.

Kendall's volume is of particular interest because it outlines the methods and procedures in the educational program in the social and economic studies. These studies are centered around "units" of particular interest to the inmates and having to do with the changing of the anti-social attitudes of the prisoners. The volume of *Education Within Prison Walls* attempts to evaluate these methods; necessarily, however, the evaluation is based upon a few cases and the real evaluation will have to wait until more time has passed and careful follow-up can be made of the men who have been subjected to this type of education.

Such experiments are of the greatest importance, perhaps not because of the particular method employed but because they envisage the modern emphasis in penology: that of using the whole correctional procedure as an educational process to fit these men personally and vocationally for return to free society.

J. L. GILLIN

*University of Wisconsin*

*Cruel and Unusual Punishments.* By JAMES J. WILSON. New York: Pandick Press, Inc., 1938. Pp. 25.

*Criminological Research Bulletin.* No VIII, 1938. Ed. by J. P. SHALLOO. New York: Committee on Criminal Statistics of the American Prison Association, 1939. Pp. 19. Free on request.

*Notes of a Prison Visitor.* By GORDON GARDINER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. 255. \$3.00.

*Vocational Adjustment of Ex-Prisoners in the District of Columbia.* By SISTER HELEN ANGELA HURLEY. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1938. Pp. xx+210. \$1.50.

The pamphlet by Wilson is a criticism of the New York law applying to cities of the first class (New York City and Buffalo) providing for the indeterminate sentence of certain misdemeanants for a maximum of three years. Wilson argues that this law is unconstitutional, violating both the Federal constitution and the New York State constitution. It has no particular interest to those outside cities of the first class in New York State.

The *Bulletin of Criminological Research* was originated in 1930 by Sellin, and the first five issues were published by the Bureau of Social Hygiene. The 1936 and 1937 issues appeared in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. These reports were intended to make available the titles of research projects on criminology and penology being conducted in the United States. This publication each year is of value to research students in this field because it enables them to know what projects are under way throughout the country and thus prevents repetition.

The book by Gardiner has an introduction by Alexander Paterson, Com-

missioner of Prisons of Great Britain. The main body of the book is a series of notes written by Gardiner after his interviews as a prison visitor with the inmates of the prisons in and about London. About 1922 the prison commissioners of Great Britain introduced the novelty of having interested and capable civilians visit inmates of the prisons. The purpose was to enable the prisoners to come in contact with civilians with whom they could talk frankly concerning their problems. These notes of Gardiner are interesting reflections of an intelligent civilian after his contact with the inmates. They throw light upon the function and efficacy of the prison visitor. This is a feature which might well be introduced into the prisons of the United States.

The monograph by Sister Helen Angela Hurley is her doctor's dissertation presented to the Catholic University of America. It is a study of 100 inmates discharged from the District of Columbia Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia. It attempts to ascertain the success of the vocational adjustment of these ex-prisoners. While a part of the volume is given up to statistical tables, the statistical analysis goes on further than working out percentages. On the whole the volume does no more than to confirm what was already known—that ex-prisoners have a difficult time in readjusting themselves vocationally.

J. L. GILLIN

*University of Wisconsin*

*The Secret of Childhood.* By MARIA MONTESSORI, translated and edited by BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. xi+286. \$2.50.

*The Generations; A Study of the Cycle of Parents and Children.* By EMANUEL MILLER. London: Faber and Faber, 1938. Pp. 276. 7s 6d.

*Love, Marriage and Parenthood.* By GRACE SLOAN OVERTON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. xi+276. \$2.00.

*Social Case Records; Family Welfare.* Ed. by ELIZABETH S. DIXON and GRACE A. BROWNING. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. x+312. \$2.00.

*Thicker than Water; Stories of Family Life.* Ed. by W. ROBERT WUNSCH and EDNA ALBERS. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+359. \$1.20.

Montessori's book, *The Secret of Childhood*, is a further defense and exposition of the already famous educational method that bears her name. She maintains that the child's original, normal nature cannot expand and develop in the adult environment which seemingly is devised to "crucify" the child. The adult is not egoistic but egocentric in relation to the child, and must be changed if the child is to be saved. The child's departure from adult patterns must not be considered an evil to be corrected; such an attitude unconsciously and automatically cancels the child's personality.



Child psychology, which heretofore has dealt only with the outward manifestations of behavior, must be entirely revised in order to discover the hiding place of the child's soul.

It would be superfluous to say that the book shows keen insight into child nature, for that is true of anything Montessori writes. Yet there sometimes is a mystical quality that leaves one uncomfortably reaching for solid ground. Also, the famous educator sometimes strains one's credulity, as when she tells of the fright of a month-old baby when it first "realized" that the father and uncle were really *two* persons instead of the *one* being which "he had so laboriously catalogued out of chaos" (p. 54). The book is full of interesting experiences Montessori has had with her pupils.

Miller's *The Generations* scrutinizes the forces that operate on the person through the medium of family life and attempts to analyze both the products and by-products of those forces. The personality development of the child in the family matrix and the male and female psychology that complicates—yet eases—certain situations, are dealt with from the standpoint of psychoanalysis. Miller follows the thinking of Freud, Jung, and Adler, but with the exception of his overemphasis on the Oedipus complex, the recapitulation theory, and narcissism, the treatment is well balanced. There is little new contribution, but the book is exceedingly well written; the thought is clear and the style admirable. It is well worth reading, in spite of the ambitious attempt to explain child psycho-therapy (correction of wrong development) in one short, sketchy chapter.

*Love, Marriage and Parenthood* is an excellent book for parents. It is non-technical, yet based on sound principles of psychology and sociology. It is somewhat inspirational in tone, with an excess of exclamation points, but it is extremely readable and full of good humor and good sense.

*Social Case Records* is a group of sixteen case histories presented by the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. The cases are selected to represent a wide variety of types—insofar as case workers admit there are types. The cases include such problems as unemployment, mental and physical disease, runaway children, etc. The handling and disposition of the cases reveal a wide range of case-work techniques and permit a comparison of methods in different situations. Some cases are dealt with chiefly by one agency, while others involve extensive cooperation between private and public agencies, or even intercity cooperation. Some of the cases were closed, while others were still open at the time of publication. The treatment of certain cases seems very brief (as few as 12 pages), but others are treated much more fully. There are no reports of staff conferences at the end of each case record in which ideas are exchanged. The case records are merely transplanted, without comment, from files to book to be used for analysis in training workers.

*Thicker than Water* is one of the publications of the Progressive Education Association. It is a symposium consisting of twenty-four short stories dealing with different phases of family life. There are stories by such well-known writers as Edna Ferber, Dorothy Canfield, Ruth Suckow, Booth Tarkington, and Sherwood Anderson. The stories cover a wide range of family

situations, with humor, pathos, adventure, and tragedy blended only as artists can blend them in word pictures. The stories are literature first, and psychological and sociological contributions second; therefore they must be accepted for what they are and not made to conform to an orderly outline of factors that would contribute in regular turn to the analysis of family problems. When accepted for what they are, the stories justify themselves doubly: first, as delightful reading, and second, for their illumination of family life.

RAY E. BABER

*Pomona College*

*Familial Feeble-mindedness.* By CLARA HARRISON TOWN. Buffalo: Foster & Stewart Publishing Corp., 1939. Pp. 97. \$2.00.

This slender volume, *Familial Feeble-mindedness*, reveals in clear-cut fashion the stupidity of the customary treatment of the problem of feeble-mindedness. The study is based on 141 families known to the Psychological Clinic of the Children's Aid Society of Buffalo, each of which included two or more feeble-minded persons. For these families, the status, sex, mental diagnosis if available, and "pertinent items" for all members are given. Unfortunately, in only one of the 141 families did every member have a mental diagnosis. Because of the incompleteness of this item, statistical analysis is largely ruled out. The evidence that these families are foci of feeble-mindedness is overwhelming, but it is regrettable that a more thorough treatment was not possible.

Psychological examinations of children who are retarded in school so that they may be given adequate care from an early age is one of the solutions offered by the author for the situation revealed. To give the feeble-minded the opportunity to reproduce themselves not only results in additions to the total number of feeble-minded, but also their family situations are largely characterized by promiscuity, desertion, illegitimacy, crime, unhappiness, ill health, and other associated pathological conditions. In addition to institutional care, definite provision for retarded children when they leave the special classes provided by the public school systems of the cities in the form of a permanent work program adapted to their ability is recommended. Actually the provisions for the feeble-minded are far better in New York state, which alone is considered in the analysis, than those in most other states.

The author's criticism of the trial and error approach to the problem, which is so generally characteristic, appears well merited. While at times she lapses from objectivity, and while the incompleteness of the data is unfortunate, Town has made an important contribution to the understanding of the pressing problem of feeble-mindedness.

ELLEN WINSTON

*Work Projects Administration*  
*Raleigh, North Carolina*

*Child Psychology for Professional Workers.* By FLORENCE M. TEAGARDEN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxvi+641. \$3.25.

As indicated by the title, this book is designed for social workers, teachers, leaders of parent-education groups, and others who cannot stop with the acquisition of abstract information about children but are obliged to take an active hand in guiding their development.

In adapting the subject matter to the immediate needs of an audience of this kind, the author has departed very radically from the conventional organization of books on child psychology. The usual accounts of motor development, language development, learning, perception, reasoning, social behavior, and the like are conspicuous by their absence. Instead, we have chapters on training in fundamental habits such as eating, sleep, elimination, bathing, on the placement of children in boarding homes and institutions, on child adoption, and on special problems relating to the home and school. Throughout, the emphasis is upon the practical problems encountered by the social worker or visiting teacher, in the discussion of which the author has drawn heavily upon her own extensive clinical experience.

For the most part the book is clearly written, although certain chapters are heavily weighted with scientific terms that the majority of its potential readers would be unable to understand without recourse to a medical dictionary. Although the general conclusions and practical suggestions appear sound, a few questionable features appear, such as the recommended use of the now discredited accomplishment ratio or the author's unqualified condemnation of reading in bed. But these matters are of minor importance when weighed against the exceptionally sane and well-balanced treatment of such topics as sex education and the training of handicapped children. The book will undoubtedly be welcomed by many overburdened workers who are eager to gain such information as science may have to offer on the immediate problems of their everyday work, but who have neither the time nor the inclination to consider the process of human development from the detached viewpoint of the scientist.

FLORENCE L. GOODENOUGH

*University of Minnesota*

*High Schools and Sex Education.* By BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG and J. L. KAUKONEN. Washington: U. S. P.H.S., 1939, revision of Bull. 75. Pp. xix+110. \$0.20.

This is both a syllabus and manual of suggestions for handling this most important problem, now largely neglected. The bibliographies seem fairly adequate, though the work of Terman and Burgess and Cottrell is not mentioned. A separate course in sex education is not advocated. The idea is that courses already in the curriculum should be used, chiefly those in biology, general science, physiology and hygiene, physical education, home economics, social studies, and English. All teaching should be informational, interpretative, inspirational, and should furnish guidance. This applies particularly to sex education.

As to method, it is suggested that segregation of sexes is unsound, though the authors are willing to compromise on this point. I should not. So long as this is done, sex education is bound to be nasty-nice and secretive. The ideal of treating sex impersonally, factually, and realistically cannot be attained until the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of the reproductive system is taught and thought about as matter-of-factly as all other similar data. They advocate that it should not be done by specialists, that provision should be made for dealing with the personal problems of individuals, that the *manner* of teaching is very important, that the birds-bees-and-flowers approach is nonsense, that the library, pamphlets, and visual aids should be used.

There is a slight aura of sanctity in the treatment of masturbation (pp. 67 ff.). It seems a slight gain to me to make it clear to the child that masturbation does not cause insanity, etc., but to substitute for these old grisly fears, the fear of infantility, and the danger that the masturbator will never be able to fall in love and marry happily. This may be more subtle, but it certainly is not true. No child was ever "naturally" ashamed of himself for masturbating. Shame has to be learned. There is also some vague hint that sublimation and diversion of interest and energy into socially approved lines will solve the masturbation problem—which I greatly doubt.

The main problem is to educate teachers and parents, which the manual recognizes but makes very little of, except by implication. It is a sound rule that the animal trainer must know more than the animal. Teachers and parents are commonly extremely ignorant factually, are often emotionally and attitudinally immature and confused on these matters. The sex education of the child should begin at age one and continue through life. I should think a specific course in family and marriage including child care and training and birth control (which is not mentioned in the manual) should be given to all high school seniors, most of whom will soon be married.

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships.* By PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+228. \$2.00.

This volume is concerned primarily with the problem of the development of emotional security in children through relationships with parents, teachers, and counsellors. It consists of a collection of many quotations from a wide variety of sources concerning the nature of the problem, a report of two studies of parental acceptance, rejection, domination and submission, and a very general theoretical analysis of child-adult relationships.

The experimental attack consists of analyses of paired cases of rejected and accepted children and dominant and submissive parents carried out by former students of the author by mail-order check-list and case study methods. The author frequently points out the limitations of his methods and data, but when they are inadequate he resorts to the practice of stating that "it is my judgment that" or "I believe that" to clinch his point. In



fact, the author is so modest about his findings that one wonders why they have been presented without validation at this time. This reviewer checked at least a score of places where the author admits that the data are so scanty that no safe generalizations can be made and we refrain, therefore, from presenting them here. Typical of the statements concerning experimental findings is the following (p. 102):

These tentative generalizations (concerning "good" and "bad" parents), based on scanty data, must be entertained with caution. Those whose participation made this study possible would be probably much surprised to see such important generalizations drawn from facts which they reported with much hesitation. But the pictures drawn are exceedingly suggestive and deserve a thorough treatment, *and perhaps validation, in some future and more extensive investigation . . . it is our belief that insofar as these generalizations are sound they represent a force or trend which operates in all marriage and family relations. [Italics ours.]*

The volume does raise some of the crucial problems in parent-child relationships in a challenging manner. If, as it appears, the author intended to show that much needs to be done in this aspect of child development, he has succeeded in good measure.

J. W. M. ROTHNEY

*University of Wisconsin*

*Home-School-Community Relations: A Textbook in the Theory and Practice of Public School Relations.* By WILLIAM A. YEAGER. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Bookstore, 1939. Pp. xxii+523. \$3.50.

One of the most significant contributions of sociology, a contribution made largely during the present decade, has been its emphasis upon the community. Following the general pattern of the Lynds' *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition* a very considerable number of areas have been subjected to varying types of sociological research. In the interests of pure research, no one agency or institution has been made the core of the study, except those that have been of a single institution such as the church or the motion picture, nor has any considerable effort been made to apply such findings to bring about the better integration of community life.

This volume reverses this procedure in both of these respects. It seeks to appraise all of the agencies of the community, but primarily in their inter-relationship with the school; and its basic purpose is to indicate specific means for the improvement of community life through home-school-community relations. The organization and selection of the material is guided by the author's fundamental premise: "The home, the school, the church, clubs and recreation centers, and all agencies and institutions of any community are conceived collectively as dominating influences in the life of the child educationally. The public school has been placed in a central position of leadership and direction, in order that the educational influencing situation of the others may be properly coordinated, which is its primary duty to perform."

The subject matter is drawn from many communities and specific illus-

trations are interwoven into a consistent theory. The major divisions are: public education in American life, public education as a community enterprise, cooperating agencies in home-school-community relations, problems and policies in a relations program, and building a constructive program.

It should, perhaps, be added that the pure sociologist will resent the implication of the reviewer that this book is sociological in its emphasis, and the educator will prefer to consider its field as that of school administration, but both can read the volume with considerable profit to themselves and their profession.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

*New York University*

*Class and American Sociology.* By CHARLES HUNT PAGE. New York: The Dial Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+319. \$3.50.

The book is a careful analysis of the concept of social class with its implications as they are developed in the works of the "Fathers" of American sociology: Lester Ward, William Graham Sumner, Albion Small, Franklin Giddings, Charles Horton Cooley, Edward A. Ross, and partly Thorsten Veblen. In the introductory chapter the author briefly sketches the social conditions in which these sociologists lived which influenced their sociological thinking generally and their conception of social class particularly. Subsequent chapters are devoted to a competent characterization of their theory of social class and the related problems. The exposition of the theory of each "Father" opens with a concise characterization of his existential conditions, the general character of his sociological theory, and then passes to a detailed analysis of his theory of social class. So far as I know, this is the first monographic work on the theory of social class in the works of American sociologists. As such it is a real contribution to sociological theory in this field.

From the introductory chapter one gathers that this is the first volume of a larger work on social classes conceived by Page. Subsequent volume(s) are going to deal with an analysis of the problem of social class in the contemporary sociological studies and finally with "a critical evaluation of the concept of class, its uses and methodological import." As the problem of social class is one of the basic problems of social science, and as cleavages between social classes in this country are widening and deepening, such a study is very timely from the theoretical as well as the practical standpoints. We may wish the author every success in his important enterprise.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

*Harvard University*

*This is War.* By LUCIEN ZACHAROFF. New York: Sheridan House, 1939. Pp. x+342. \$2.50.

This book contains a great deal of factual information on the technological development of modern armament since the end of the World War. It

has no central theme, but is a kind of piece-meal presentation of descriptive and statistical material which the author gathered from military literature and news dispatches. It will be interesting to the layman for whom it was written.

Almost one-half of the book is devoted to a discussion of the technological aspects of aerial warfare. This part is more instructive than the summary discussions of tanks, artillery, bacteriological and chemical warfare.

The author holds that modern technology favors the defense—an opinion which is sound although it is not proved in the book; the defensive importance of motorized and mechanized units is even denied. The political outlook of the author, who is pro-Russian and anti-Hitler, has become quaint. However, it does not seriously impair his evaluation of the facts with the exception of his overestimating the military importance of Russian parachute troops and slighting the quality of German planes in the Spanish Civil War (which improved toward the end of the war). The author's comments on Italy's campaign in Ethiopia are instructive and fair. His diatribe against Fuller's views on chemical warfare does not do justice to Fuller who, whatever one may think of his political views, is one of the outstanding military writers in the post-war period.

Since the book has no index and not even a table of contents (!), the somewhat careless presentation of the material will irritate the careful reader. The sources are not always indicated, and the book has no bibliography.

HANS SPEIER

*New School for Social Research*

*News and the Human Interest Story.* By HELEN MACGILL HUGHES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xxiii+313. \$3.00.

*Backgrounding the News. The Newspaper and the Social Sciences.* By SIDNEY KOBRE. Baltimore: Twentieth Century Press, 1939. Pp. xv+271. \$2.00.

Two persons would have contributed much to human welfare if they had never lived. One, the individual who invented the Murphy bed, the other the person who said that it is news when a man bites a dog. This latter gem gave rise to an endless output by editors, reporters, sociologists, and students who were trying to get Ph.D. theses on what the news is, where it comes from, what it means, with an occasional volume on the country newspaper, politics and the news, crime in the news, propaganda and the news; and schools of journalism where young idealists may learn how to write a feature story and distinguish between straight statement and the inverted lead.

These two volumes have practically nothing in common. Hughes has traced out the origin of the human interest story, and since she knows the smell peculiar to the city room, gives an excellent and well-written account of its gradual emergence into a place of prominence in our contemporary daily newspapers. Her contention is that the human interest story is a kind

of romantic sidelight geared to naïve and unsophisticated minds that tells them what they want to know. This differs from the news story, that is spot news, in that action is not the test of the story, but rather the story attracts and holds the attention of the reader for its own sake, not for any message or accuracy it may have. In fact, the best human interest stories may be purely imaginative, like the sailor who committed suicide by booking passage on S.S. Cyanide on Christmas Eve. He committed suicide, but the reporter told how and why. Such events as mine cave-ins, shipwrecks, refugees, love-nest murders, the confirmation of Goering's nephews, and lynchings are the stuff from which human interest stories may be woven.

Kobre, who is editor of the Baltimore *Home News*, believes that the press has a mission. All news needs interpretation, and where may one find such interpretation except through the employment of experts. Reporters should be trained in the social sciences, notably sociology, psychology, and economics, in order to explain and interpret the deeper significance of events and utterances. Juvenile delinquency is but a symptom of social disorganization and evidence of the community's lack of interest in uprooting slums. Vice, rackets, corruption, international affairs, the gold standard, the insanity-plea crime, the Republican Convention, and other weighty matters are but surface manifestations which the trained reporter must interpret in the light of their basic patterns of causation. At present, this type of distilled wisdom is to be found only in a few syndicated columns, classrooms, libraries, and learned journals. Experts on the newspaper will inform the reader of the meaning which frequently is omitted from the story. On page 47, Kobre quotes a column from *Science Service*, for which publication he has great respect. Oscar Raeder, psychiatrist, "backgrounds" Mr. Hitler as infantile, amoral, and sadistic. "Her warnings unheeded, mother world's patience has been sorely taxed, and she now appears to be driven to use the birch." To this reviewer, it would be far more useful to tell that to Hitler. If Kobre's suggestions are ever realized, each morning the newsboy will toss a Ph.D. thesis on our piazza. With all the humility at my command I murmur reverently, "God Forbid!" Even with perspective and plenty of time, professional historians, including those with psychiatric learning, have guessed wrong. Nevertheless for anyone interested in what a socially minded editor thinks, this book should be looked into. For those who believe that newspaperwomen cannot write well and authoritatively, Hughes' book is what they need.

J. P. SHALLOO

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Stalin*. By BORIS SOUVARINE, translated by C. L. R. JAMES. New York: Alliance Book Corp., Longmans, Green and Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+690. \$3.75.

Boris Souvarine was one of the founders of the French Communist Party and has been at certain times in close touch with the Russian scene. His book is more than a life of Stalin; it is an attempt to evaluate Communist



Party history. It is not carefully organized, and in the American edition lacks all documentation. Furthermore, the personal prejudices of the author against Stalin stand out in almost every chapter.

The brief official history of the Communist Party<sup>1</sup> presents a more systematic account of the development of Communism, but it has been censored and leaves out some of the material included by Souvarine. It will be difficult for the average student to sift out truth from prejudice in Souvarine's book, but at least it provides a wealth of material which can be checked for authenticity through other sources.

The picture of Stalin which emerges is that of a man who was conditioned by the despotic conditions under the Tsar—a man who, against terrific obstacles, won his way to the top. On his own testimony, Souvarine shows that Stalin started without much support. Lenin's last "Testament" was against him, he did not have the command of the army, and yet he finally emerged as the ruler of all Russia. The character portrayed is that of a clever politician who is courageous, patient, and meticulous; a doer rather than a thinker; a man who is contemptuous of fine words and paper programs. The author also believes that Stalin is clever at intrigue; he is cunning, crafty, and ruthless. He has a tremendous love of power, but along with it goes devotion and self-surrender to a cause.

Just how far the author is correct in his estimates we cannot yet be sure. History will render the final verdict, but every student of the Revolution who wishes to learn all sides of the complexities of the Russian scene cannot afford to ignore this book.

JEROME DAVIS

*New School for Social Research*

*Umrisse der amerikanischen Kultur und Kunst.* By HANS EFFELBERGER. Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1937. Pp. vii+52.

Among the numerous foreign books on America, this is one of the most critical. It is based on American, German, English, and French sources. The writer attempts to discover and evaluate the deeper national forces which often escape the attention of foreign observers who judge the country from direct observation. Some of these six studies on philosophy, literature, and art previously appeared in the *Neueren Sprachen*.

According to Effelberger, America follows in its social development a reverse order from civilization to culture, rather than as the older nations, from culture to civilization. The comparisons of the American, German, and English cultures are interesting and sound. Effelberger explains such puzzling phenomena as the combination of practical realism and religious mysticism, the lack of "specially educated sense of values," and the American insistence upon the formula of community life as "a progressive self-justifying process of performance." The value of the book is chiefly in its

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Edited by a Commission of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. (B), New York: International Publishers, 1939.

historical and critical perspective, with a greater emphasis than is given by most of the present writers upon the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the environmental influences of the "North-American space."

JACOB HORAK

*Heidelberg College*

*Italy and the Paris Peace Conference.* By RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xv+575, 12 maps. \$5.25.

The tendency to consider the role of Italy as secondary in the concert of the great powers is misleading, especially since it is becoming apparent that the trend of future developments depends upon the balance of power in the sphere of her interests which seem to be at cross-purposes with the interests of other nations. This volume, particularly timely at present, not only defines the position of Italy at the Paris Peace Conference, but also throws light upon the subsequent events and the changes in her attitude toward former allies and foes.

At the time of the Conference, her lot was cast as a defender of the Old against the New Order. To understand this position one must view her policy in the light of her vital interests, as these are determined by her history and her space relations in the region east of the Rhine and south of the Danube and in the path of the principal lines of communication of the British empire. The changes in the orientation of the Italian foreign policy can better be understood on the basis of the objective facts and interpretation of what happened at the Paris Peace Conference, interestingly presented by Albrecht-Carrié in this readable and well-documented volume.

JACOB HORAK

*Heidelberg College*

*Der deutsche Charakter in der Geschichte Europas.* By ERICH KÄHLER. Zürich: Europa-Verlag, 1937. Pp. 695. 16 Swiss frs.

*Der deutsche Volkscharakter.* By MARTIN WÄHLER. Jena: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1937. Pp. 559. RM. 15.00.

Studies of "the mentality of peoples" have usually been only a few steps removed from journalism. Scholarly and scientific work has been rarely ventured upon, in part because of over-specialization, and in part because of justified fear of superficiality. With the rising interest in sociology of knowledge, however, it becomes increasingly apparent that we cannot depend on the isolated Benedicts and Granets; there must be systematic research into well-defined sections of the general field for which adequate research materials are available.

The two volumes now under review provide at least a jumping-off point for studies of German mentality. Kahler's book is a massive tome dealing with the gradual development, over a long period, of what he holds to be characteristic traits of the contemporary "German mind." Unfortunately he doesn't arrive at the "contemporary"; in almost seven hundred pages he gets only as far as the rise of the merchant class in the late seventeenth

century. In a plan for a second volume, included as an appendix, he gives some indication of the final goal and the means of its attainment, namely, the isolation of types such as the hero, the prophet, the saint, the genius, the tyrant, and so on through an exhaustive survey of memoirs, diaries, confessions, and select biographies. The present reviewer feels that Kahler's efforts are not likely to be particularly rewarding because of insufficient regional differentiation and undue concentration on the upper strata of German society. The currents of "German mentality" do not run in one single stream, and they can be accurately detected only at levels much deeper than those manifested in the intelligentsia and other elites.

Turning to the symposium edited by Wähler, we encounter a marked contrast. Here there is well-marked regional differentiation: (1) lower Germans, divided into some eight main classes; (2) east Germans, with three divisions; (3) Rhinelanders; (4) middle Germans, in four groups; (5) upper Germans, with seven categories; and (6) Germans outside the confines of the pre-World War I empire. In spite of clear traces of Nazi ideology and other distortions, it can be said that the symposium is a valuable asset to anyone who is not content with the conventional stereotypes which, it is to be feared, Kahler's treatise does much to perpetuate. Until very recent times, and perhaps even now, it is much safer to speak of "German minds"—in the plural. Even when dealing with outstanding intellects this fact cannot be evaded; the Pomeranian, for example, is virtually a polar antithesis of the Suabian. American students would do well to bear this in mind. Recent researches being carried on in Wisconsin have made it plain that ethnic backgrounds account for many differences between relief and non-relief farm families, for instance, and that the simple classification of these backgrounds as "German" or "Scandinavian" is too gross. Sub-types must be constructed if any adequate analysis is hoped for.

Let us say, then, that although Kahler may be of some use as general orientation, the researcher must eventually turn to studies like those collected by Wähler—and, let us hope, to studies notably more free of nationalistic bias and uncontrolled romanticism.

HOWARD BECKER

*University of Wisconsin*

*Experiments in Civilization. The Effects of European Culture on a Native Community of the Solomon Islands.* By H. IAN HOG BEN. London: George Rutledge & Sons, Ltd., 1939. Pp. xvii+268. 15s.

The title is a happy one, if a little sardonic. The scene is Malaita in the Solomons; the actors are the three great European agents, the administrator, the trader, and the missionary; and the plot is one common to most of Melanesia: white rule enforcing accommodation, but seldom complete collapse, on the native culture. The book is synthesized and written with much clarity expressly to describe this process. For historical reference the original native culture is given in sufficient detail, together with a record of contacts from the days of blackbirding down to the recent system of contract

labor. The problems of the present are well summarized, particularly that of depopulation, standard bugaboo of Melanesia; Hogben feels that this results not, romantically, from loss of the "will to live," but from bad diet and worse hygiene.

The most interesting fact is that the government is finally adjusting itself in turn to native culture and social ideals, even to the point of treating sorcery as if it were almost precisely what the natives say it is. This is partly possible because the culture has no features more objectionable than occasional vengeance murders. Friction therefore arises only where sympathy has not been achieved: where the natives are either morally indifferent, as in delinquency in tax payments, or more sensitive than Europeans, as in matters of adultery.

The missions have not shown this flexibility, but the natives have compensated for this by synthesizing Christianity with the native religion, borrowing chiefly the Bible and the more definite morality of the former. It is a comforting fact that full native culture still survives in much of the island, where lessons learned painfully on both sides can be applied.

The book as a whole is a superb demonstration of how acculturation should be studied and written about.

W. W. HOWELLS

*University of Wisconsin*

*The Turkey of Atatürk.* By DONALD EVERETT WEBSTER. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1939. Pp. xv+337, 7 plates, 6 maps, 28 figures, 31 tables, 5 app., bibl., index. \$2.50.

Webster explains the purpose of his book as "an attempt to describe the complex of the processes of change in modern Turkey . . . from the sociological angle . . . an exposition of the revolutionary reforms initiated and the devices by which they have been promoted and popularized."

The first part deals with the background, sketching the history of Anatolia and Turkey, summarizing racial and religious statistics and surveying the lives of Turkish peasants at work, whom he personalizes as Fatma and Mehmet, husband and wife. He says that these Turks "are as charming as any westerner and far more hospitable than any American." He emphasizes the mixed racial character of the Turks, who constituted in 1926, 86 percent of the population, nearly 9 percent being Kurds. Ninety-seven percent of the population was Moslem. On account of losses in war, the country contained 927 males per 1,000 females; there were more than one million widows in a population of about fourteen million. Two-thirds of the men were farmers. A villager with \$240 annual income was counted prosperous. Only 12 percent of those over twelve years old could read and write.

The second part deals with the struggle for independence, accounts of typical Turkish leaders, and the development of ideology.

The third part, comprising about half the book, deals with "Contemporary Kamalism." Definition is given to leading ideas, which are trans-

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lated as republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, laicism, and reformerism. The whole sets forth a system which is in its main outlines and features democratic, but which involved during the lifetime of President Atatürk an emphasis on leadership. Republicanism is taken for granted. Turkish nationalism can hardly be traced back of the year 1908, but is increasingly strong. Populism emphasizes "a classless society in which no privileges or handicaps attitudinally inhere in family membership, occupation, economic status, or place of residence." Etatism involves the extensive participation of the state as a partner in providing capital and supervising operations in the economic affairs of the country. Laicism derives its importance from the attempt of the present regime to carry through complete separation of church and state. Reformerism is Webster's translation of the Turkish word which others have called revolutionism: the government obviously does not favor new revolutions, but it embodies a constructive purpose.

The organization of the sole political party, "the Peoples' Party of the Republic," with the education of party members and the propaganda of Kamalist ideas, receives adequate attention. Particularly interesting are the Halkevis: centers of cultural activity, with literary, athletic, dramatic, philanthropic, and other departments. The press has been increasingly active. Education has been much in the mind of Turkish leaders.

Particularly interesting is the characterization of President İnönü: "an able administrator, a clear-thinking maker of plans, and a wise counsellor in the problems faced by the new government." As soldier, diplomat, and statesman, hardly any prominent man in Europe is as well prepared to serve his country.

Among the many books on the new Turkey that have appeared, Webster's ranks very high, for wealth of content, effective presentation, and soundness of judgment.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

*University of Illinois*

*Cherokee Cavaliers.* By EDWARD EVERETT DALE and GASTON LITTON.  
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. xxiii+319. \$3.00.

The subtitle indicates that forty years of Cherokee History are told in the letters of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family. The family in question were, throughout this period, leaders of a minority faction of the Cherokee tribe. Yet the questions at issue were facing the entire tribe. Each chapter has an introduction giving the setting for the letters quoted in it. Throughout the book are liberal footnotes. These aids clarify the letters and bind them into a unified whole.

The authors have intended the book as a historical study of the Cherokee Nation. It is also very valuable as a social study. The Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family constituted a wealthy, educated, part-blood group of the Cherokee tribe. The letters selected show the political, economic, and social life of this group.

The question of removal split the Cherokees into Treaty and Anti-treaty parties. John Ross, Principal-Chief of the Cherokees, led the Anti-treaty group. Major Ridge led the Treaty Party. In 1839, after enforced removal to the West, Major Ridge and two of his relatives were assassinated. Stand Watie was the leader of the Treaty faction from 1839 until his death in 1871. He had great ability and rose to the rank of Brigadier-General in the Confederate army during the war between the states.

In the economic and social fields the letters show the daily life of the Cherokees of the higher economic rank. Some of the more interesting letters came from John Rollin Ridge in California. Young Ridge had devoted himself to poetry and printing, and attained considerable distinction.

The period of the American Civil War is filled with matters of importance. Mrs. Sarah C. Watie wrote from Texas showing the hardships of Indian refugees. Elias C. Boudinot, who represented the Watie faction of the Cherokees at the Confederate Congress at Richmond, wrote several letters portraying the economic features of the Indian relation with the Confederate government.

After the Civil War the letters show the intense factional rivalry of Ross and Watie factions in the treaty making of 1866. Next Elias C. Boudinot launched a tobacco manufacturing establishment in the Indian Territory. This led to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Cherokee Tobacco Case. This decision showed the Indian Tribes had few treaty rights which could not be abrogated by congressional enactments. Finally, the letters concern the Watie children who were away from home attending school. This section of the book lightens the hardships and intrigues of the other parts of the book.

The authors have enhanced the value of the book by the use of a number of photographs and illustrations. The work has been well done from the viewpoints of both physical makeup and content.

EDWARD DAVIS

*East Central State College  
Ada, Oklahoma*

*The Sociology of Rural Life.* By T. LYNN SMITH. New York: Harper and Bros., 1940. Pp. xx+595. \$3.50.

This latest addition to the growing ranks of texts in rural sociology differs from its predecessors in two important particulars. In the first place, no other text has stressed to the extent this one does, the basic importance to rural society of forms and conditions of land occupancy. Smith (head of the Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology of Louisiana State University) devotes four chapters to this topic under the headings, Form of Settlement, Land Division, Land Tenure, and Size of Holdings.

In the second place, no other rural text has devoted as much attention to the social processes in rural society. This reviewer is heartily in sympathy with this emphasis. Most of the other texts do not even mention the social process as such, while others give it only passing attention. Smith devotes four chapters to Competition and Conflict; Cooperation; Accommodation,

Assimilation, and Acculturation; and Social Mobility. In addition, under the general section on Social Organization, he has a chapter each on Social Differentiation and Social Stratification, both of which might be considered as social processes.

Four basic social institutions are considered. These are the family, the church, education, and government. No consideration is given to the rise of public welfare agencies which have assumed such vital importance in rural society in recent years, nor of the health agencies sponsored by government and voluntary health associations. In the chapter on Cooperation, for instance, illustrative material is drawn almost entirely from the field of marketing and credit, to the neglect of such consumers' cooperatives as the voluntary health associations, and gas and oil cooperatives, both of which have had phenomenal growth in recent years.

In general, however, this text is well designed to give the student an understanding of the structure and function of rural society. It is crammed with factual information, arranged in a framework of general principles which have been drawn from the facts. It is free from unsupported generalizations and hypotheses which have crept into much of the literature about rural people. While naturally the author has drawn largely upon American sources, and the book in its descriptive sections uses American materials in the main, he has utilized the contributions of European and Asiatic students to an extent surpassed only by Sorokin and Zimmerman. It is written in a style which is direct and clear and is suitable for the undergraduate of sophomore or higher grade, although the book with supporting material might in my judgment be used also in courses carrying graduate credit. It has the best of all titles, one which was used first by Hawthorn in 1926. Questions and carefully chosen references for each chapter are provided in a special section in the back of the volume. This section is followed by an extensive bibliography of several hundred items.

LOWRY NELSON

*University of Minnesota*

*Houseboat and River-Bottoms People.* By ERNEST THEODORE HILLER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 146. \$2.00.

This is a study of socio-economic adjustment among residents in the river bottoms of six Illinois counties. Data were gathered in 1935 as a cooperative venture with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration. From households located on or near the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, a sample of some 750 schedules was taken. Part of these schedules were discarded, and the analysis is based on 683 households. The cases included (1) "houseboat and land-squatter residents"; (2) "households that derived some or all of their living from the river"; and (3) "control cases from other shelter and occupational groups."

After an introductory statement of scope and method, the study is concerned with the analyses of the following: Squatter Occupancy; Self-help Pursuits; Vocational Assortments; Unemployment, Mutual Aid, and Relief; Types of Shelter and Residential Mobility; Household Organization

and Family Organization; Ecological Organization and the Community; and Cultural Continuity and Ecological Organization.

Among the more important conclusions are the following: (1) The river and the geographic setting in general offer opportunities, but traditions prescribe what life in the areas is to be; (2) squatting and floating privileges, and self-help activities are survivals from the frontier, not unique adjustments induced by economic depression; (3) locally orientated vocations give rise to less unemployment than those whose connections were more remote; (4) the family is the dominant institution in the sampled areas, where social disorganization is relatively great; (5) Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Indiana furnished the backgrounds for the larger portion of the families; and (6) before any phase of living can be changed, not only the environment but also the attitudes of the population must be modified.

T. LYNN SMITH

*Louisiana State University*

*Social Relations in the Near East.* By STUART CARTER DODD and Assistants. Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1940. Pp. 790, illustrated.

This is a revision and enlargement of the edition of 1931, which I have not seen. Since the new work incorporates the system of sociology developed in Dodd's *Dimensions of Society*, and 11 of the 39 chapters are entirely new and 18 others have been rewritten, the new edition is really a new book. This is the best introductory text I know of, although it probably could not be used in an American college because it is too much oriented toward the culture of the Near East. The students who use it are frequently more or less unfamiliar with English. This makes a more or less elementary style and approach necessary (an English-Arabic vocabulary has had to be included). There are 43 plates, many of them pictographic, and all of them selected and captioned so as to have maximum educational value. The printing is not very good, especially the illustrations, and there is no index. This about exhausts my negative criticisms. The book is the cooperative product of at least six persons. Those who rejected as unfeasible the idea of a Society-sponsored cooperative text might ponder this.

It is the only text I know of which is based upon a *system* of sociology. This is what gives the book unity, clarity, and coherence and makes it possible for a number of scholars to collaborate. This system is based upon Dodd's scheme of the components of society, *P, I, S, T; people*, and their *interrelations in time and space*. This scheme enables one to deal logically and systematically with *all* the data usually regarded as societal. The *P*-factor, expanded, covers all the data of demography and problems dealing with population; the *S*-factor (*L* is used for the spatial factor in Dodd's other work because he uses *S* in his most generalized statements [*S*-theory] as the inclusive symbol for societal situations) develops the whole field of ecological analysis; the *T*-factor generalizes the concept of social change, and implies cultural continuity, past, present, and future; the *I*-factor deals with all the institutional interrelations of populations in time and space.



This scheme is beautiful in its simplicity and powerful in its generality; it forever destroys the possibility of any disjunctive, particularistic, and compartmentalized analysis of societal phenomena—that old stumbling block of the social sciences. It is a generalized statement of the organic unity and interrelatedness of societal phenomena, and provides an operationally adequate instrument for conceiving and communicating the structure-functional, dynamic-stability, flux-fixity, character of societal reality.

Most of the space in the text is properly devoted to the *I*-factor. The major institutions treated are: familial, educational, economic, political, religious, medical, recreational, and artistic. If such a text were prepared for our culture, the last two topics would have to be considerably expanded. Another institution, which, for want of a better term, I will call social work, broadly conceived, would have to be added. Dodd has distributed some of these caring-for-the-socially-inadequate functions among the other institutional structures. Perhaps this is the best way to do it, but I do not think so for reasons I cannot develop here. Also, I do not like to see "The Home" put among the chapters on education. There are some other questionable instances of emphasis and classification which cannot be discussed. Dodd is one of the few sociologists whom I would accuse of writing before he thinks. I think he *thinks* more, and more clearly, more originally, more fundamentally and radically (using these last two words in their strictest etymological connotations), and *longer* before he speaks, than 90 percent of us; but I feel that he has failed somewhat in two respects in this part of the book: (1) he has not made it clear just what the nature of an institution is; (2) he has not shown the organic interrelatedness between all of the institutions as clearly as I think can and should be done. I do not know exactly how to do it, but I believe the *S*-theory could be used for this. I think it is a more powerful instrument of analysis than Dodd himself as yet realizes. Of one thing, I am convinced, viz., that the best approach for an introductory text is institutional. I believe Dodd has used this approach more effectively than has been done in any other first text I have read.

Theoretically and pedagogically, this book strikes me as a first-rate first text. It was designed as an introduction to citizenship, and it serves that purpose admirably; it also would be a good introduction to all of the other social sciences. That, I think, is a great need in our present college teaching. Here, the high schools are showing us the way: a general science course for the physical and biological sciences and another one for the social sciences. I would have this a threefold division of labor at both the high school and college levels: a general course for each of the three major classes of natural sciences—inorganic, organic, and cultural; this, for general education, orientation, citizenship; specialization thereafter. At present, most of our first courses are taught as if all the students were going to be specialists; since this is not the case, we are guilty of unsound pedagogy.

Dodd has attempted to make sociology a "laboratory" course. The term is correct in that the students *work*, and do so *systematically*; they observe, collect, classify, quantify, criticize, interpret, and evaluate their data. They

have first-hand experience with case study, comparative, and quantitative methods of making and manipulating societal facts. They have a consistent frame of reference within which to work. They are led into the scientific habit of mind by dealing with real problems in the real world by means of a scientific methodology. Each chapter begins with a clear statement of its purpose. At the end of each chapter is a list of intelligent and stimulating questions for discussion; projects, outlining and readings, carefully selected; questionnaires; compositions; letters and articles; newspapers; interviews; trips; clippings and pictures; speeches; dramatics; games and contests; vocabulary; objective tests; systematic observations; experiments; new projects. In the appendixes, detailed instructions are given to teachers and students as to how this laboratory work is to be done.

Altogether, I commend this book to ambitious text writers. If someone will do as good a job for our culture as Dodd has done for the Near East, he will make a major contribution to the teaching of sociology, and incidentally, to the science itself, because the students of today are the scientists of tomorrow. Most of our first course students never really learn to think *scientifically* about social phenomena. More of them might if the first course were organized and taught in somewhat the way Dodd has attempted in this book.

One almost should apologize for writing such a lyrical review, but this book really "got" me. I have a definite "guilt feeling" when I think of how badly I have taught elementary sociology all these years, and it is small consolation to reflect that many other people are doing it no better. However, we all probably will be doing a better job twenty years from now. I think Dodd and his associates are on the right track. Most of us still try to teach sociology by *precept* instead of by *percept*—too much "talkie," too little "doie."

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I.* By KURT LEWIN, RONALD LIPPITT, and SIBYLLE KORSCH ESCALONA. *Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. 16, No. 3. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1940. Pp. 307. \$1.35 (pap.), \$1.70 (cloth).

This volume consists of a theoretical essay by Lewin, "Formalization and Progress in Psychology," and two monographs by the junior authors: Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres"; and Escalona, "The Effect of Success and Failure upon the Level of Aspiration and Behavior in Manic-Depressive Psychoses." (Surely shorter titles could have been formulated!) There are good bibliographies for each essay but no index. All monographs should be indexed.

Lewin states that psychology cannot explain everything with a single construct such as association, instinct, or gestalt. Many constructs must be used, and with logical precision. He agrees with Hull that psychologists

should state clearly their definitions, assumptions, and conclusions. He believes his "field theory," with its hodological space (I'm not sure this is not a misleading term), tension, powerfields, social atmospheres, goals, cognitive structures, etc., provides an adequate conceptual scheme for attacking psychological problems with which we have as yet made little progress. These are chiefly psychosocial in nature. He uses Zeigarnik's work on "will power" to illustrate how the system works, but warns against too great formalization of results. However, he shows how Zeigarnik's work can be formalized. The formalization uses a notation somewhat similar to that of symbolic logic. This system is used in the two monographs, as well as the more familiar topological drawings intended to illustrate or symbolize the relations of factors in topological space (also a term that has to be defined differently, I think, from its conventional usage in mathematics). Case studies, simple statistics, and conventional graphic representations are also used.

Space prevents more than a brief description of the monographs. Lippitt's experiments were, first of all, real experiments, and were also sociological since groups were his units. However, since the interactive behavior of the *persons* involved was the center of interest, I suppose it was really an experiment in social psychology. He set up two groups and varied the leadership and procedure and observed marked differences in the results. It is possible that the differences in the two groups of children (though they were roughly equated) and the differences in Lippitt's ability to play dictator and democrat successively may have been factors in the results. Other work, however, has tended to confirm this first effort. It is a fascinating study.

Escalona used maze tests and peg boards to study the changes in the aspiration level of psychopathic patients. These patients worked alone, except for the presence of the experimenter—which may be a very important factor. She could vary at will the success or failure of the subject and thus see what effect it would have upon the difficulty of the task (ten boards and mazes of increasing difficulty) first chosen, after success, after failure, etc., by different classes of manic-depressive patients.

The beauty of these projects is the formal analysis of the data and the topological and vectorial representation of the observed behavior. The experiments could have been made by anyone, but the theoretical use made of the results is what makes them significant, though the projects themselves have immediate practical bearings upon such things as club organization, teaching techniques, therapy of mental patients, etc. Lippitt says, "The laboratory *in* the social order should replace the laboratory *and* the social order" (p. 192). Both of these studies meet this criterion as well as that of being practical projects, dealt with by a systematic—and to my mind—fruitful method.

Sociologists should study this work.

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*The Psychology of Social Movements.* By PRYNS HOPKINS. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd.; New York: W. W. Norton., 1938. Pp. 284. \$3.00.

This book attempts a survey of society from the point of view of the individual, as evaluated by the criteria of psychoanalytic psychology. Society is viewed from the angle of how it satisfies the needs of man and considers man's own relation to these needs. Man is considered in relation to cruelty, violence, subsistence, possessions, his off-spring, his sensory enjoyment, his knowledge, and finally some commentaries on the road to happiness.

From the point of view of technique the book fails to carry its point to any working conclusion, for the author works from the orientation of instinct or drive, and arbitrarily uses the sexual and ego drives as a frame of reference. Little attention is paid to the integrative functions of the ego, and hence there is no bridge between drives and institutions. He uses the obscurantist term "ego impulses" and seems not to know that there has never been any psychology of ego impulses, no description of its psychopathology. His blanket endorsement of the formulations of the libido theory can be no more successful here than in many previous attempts.

In short, one cannot expect much from an effort launched with such crude instruments used so uncritically. The book makes no contribution to any scientific survey of society. However it is pleasant, chatty reading, and contains much homely and gratuitous wisdom.

A. KARDINER

*New York City*

*Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis.* Rev. ed. By IVES HENDRICK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. Pp. xii+369. \$3.00.

*Mind Explorers.* By JOHN K. WINKLER and WALTER BROMBERG. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. Pp. xvii+378. \$3.00.

*Men Against Madness.* By LOWELL S. SELLING. New York: Greenberg Publishers, 1940. Pp. ix+342. \$3.50.

*Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct.* Rev. ed. By MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD. New York: Emerson Books, 1940. Pp. iii+368. \$2.95.

These four volumes, all dealing somehow with mental disorder, are extremely uneven in quality, the first being excellent, the others poor.

The original 1934 edition of Hendrick's book established itself as one of the clearest and most profound expositions of psychoanalysis. This second edition, with several new or rewritten sections and two entirely new chapters (one on the psychoanalytic study of organic disease, the other on the extramedical applications of psychoanalysis), is even better. The least altered are the first two parts, in one of which the author presents the facts which psychoanalysis claims to have discovered, and in the other the theories which have grown out of or led to the discovery of these facts. This valuable approach was worth retaining, but it would have repaid the author to subject these parts to a thorough revision in the light of recent psychoanalytic



contacts with allied fields. One feels that the author has made a brilliant attempt to fit the numerous and somewhat shadowy concepts into one integrated Freudian system, but that he has not perfectly succeeded; and that perhaps what is needed is a purge—a fundamental reconstruction of the whole theory in accordance with rigid canons of scientific method and logic, a re-examination of verified data, and a cross-fertilization with the conceptual systems of other sciences, especially the social sciences. Probably no believer or heretic can accomplish such a purge, but only an outsider who has made this particular task his life-goal. It is not until the fourth and last part (after the excellent third part on psychoanalytic therapy—containing a remarkable treatment of the relation of psychoanalysis to psychiatry and an interesting account of the psychoanalysis of children) that he mentions the implications of sociology and anthropology for his field. However, he does little more than mention these implications, failing, as throughout, to grasp the fundamental significance of cultural relativity for his theoretical system. Yet for a fair, comprehensive, authoritative, and adroit synthesis of this strange science, there is hardly a better book.

The Winkler-Bromberg and Selling volumes popularize the history of psychiatry for the open-mouthed layman. Valueless to sociologists, they are scientifically inferior to Bromberg's earlier work, *The Mind of Man*, and Deutsch's *The Mentally Ill in America*.

Hirschfeld's book is an amusing example of the old-fashioned medical literature on sexual anomalies. Since the causes of these anomalies are for the most part psychic rather than organic, the doctor has no system of interpretation with which to approach them. Consequently, he deals with them superficially, classifying them in terms of symptoms and crowding his pages with hundreds of examples under such rubrics as fetishism (optical, acoustical, tactual, etc.), hypereroticism, and impotence. Latin and Greek compounds lend an atmosphere of learned profundity to what is actually an anecdotal agglomeration. Such literature demonstrates that psychoanalysis has certainly fulfilled a need—a need for systematic theory on the strictly psychic level.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

*Pennsylvania State College*

*Religion in Primitive Society.* By WILSON D. WALLIS. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1939. Pp. xii+388. \$3.50.

For a considerable time there has been a real need for a compact volume on primitive religion which would tell the essentials in non-technical language and reach the general reader as well as the specialist in sociology or anthropology. Wallis seems to have achieved this end well. His volume is a synthesis of comparatively recent literature in this field. It has the merit, therefore, of the freshness which results from using materials that have not become too much overlaid with dust. The topics he covers are such generally accepted concepts as the natural and supernatural, sacred places, objects, trees, animals, persons, and gods; purification, sacrifice,

prayer, ritual, supernatural sanctions, and life after death. But in addition to these, several important new angles to the discussion have been introduced, such as the status of woman in the cult, the impact of culture, the distribution of religious patterns, and as a sort of personal confession of faith (or lack of it) a closing chapter on certain psychological elements in religion which he names reason, motive, and caprice.

The author deliberately restricts his field and therefore omits any very considerable discussion of the manner in which religious life is socialized, that is, the way a group organizes and utilizes its instrumentalities of religious life. Likewise he leaves out any account of the manner in which the religious life actually functions with all the parts in place. This does not mean that he has completely disjointed the social context and lifted out certain dead bones labeled religion, for he specifically declares that religion is not isolated from the culture total, but is in all respects "a part of the culture and abundantly reflects the culture medium." It means that he has been more interested in discussing and illustrating the concepts of religion rather than their detailed connections with such fields as art, war, social classes, economics, or health. He emphasizes that the negative aspect of religion on the primitive level is apparently more important than positive goodness, thus devotes only 6 pages to the gods but 24 to purification and 16 to sacrifice. He accepts the general theory of diffusion. He rejects the philosophical assumption that "the concept of God is certainly one essential element in religious feeling." He finds that human sacrifice is not an element of most primitive religions; nor is prayer. Incidentally, the brief chapter on prayer with its citations (particularly of Indian prayers) is outstandingly valuable. There will probably be no quarrel with his conclusion that in most preliterate cultures "prayer is not so much a spiritual communion with God as a definite request for aid." In line with this finding is the further conclusion that, on this same level, magic was more influential than religion. The sociologist will probably single out as his chief interest the significance of ritual and sanctions as instruments of social control.

The purist in anthropology may object to Wallis's use of the comparative method on the ground that it is based upon library and not field work and that the time is not ripe yet for such a synthesis as the author attempts. It is clear that his method of selecting cases is "illustrative" but in no sense statistical. Hence, for example, in attempting to answer his own question—"Is William McDougall correct in supposing that without belief in life after death the morals of nations will inevitably weaken and decay because their citizens will thereby be deprived of the greatest incentive to moral action, namely, reward in a future life for deed done in the body?"—he has no way of proving that any of the case material which he selects establishes anything as universal or even the mode, the average, or the norm. The reader will have to interpret the cases according to his own judgment and statistical "weighting," assuming that they have been lifted out of authentic contextual material.

Not the least commendable feature of this book is the attractive style in which it is written. Wallis demonstrates his grasp of the wide sweep of

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anthropology, but also betrays close familiarity with the Classics and particularly with the Oriental Scriptures. But his work is not entirely free from ambiguity or objection. Highly debatable, for example, is his repetition of Marett's dictum that "religion is largely a matter of nerves." Likewise it is by no means clear that "strictly speaking no religion is monotheistic; all are polytheistic, for all attribute holiness to a variety of things or beings." There is ambiguity in the use of this word holiness, hence exaggeration in this statement. The same objection holds for the dictum "When psychology enters by the front door religion leaves by the back door and seeks more congenial environment." With all the variety of psychologies now current such a statement cannot go unchallenged. In several places the reader is left up in the air as to whether certain phrases or sources cited are the author's original composition or are quotations; in half a dozen places no source is given of what appears to be a quotation. On page 48, for example, one does not know whether the description of Mt. Meru is abstracted from an Oriental source or is a bit of the author's own geography. The last two or three pages of the book leave the reader wondering if perhaps this whole work was not an attempt to rationalize the author's rejection of the idea of immortality. It may be true, although neither he nor the reader has any facts upon which to base the belief, that "during the first five hundred thousand years of human history we faced non-existence with admirable complacency." But there is still less evidence, statistical or otherwise, for his bold statement that "there is diminishing demand for mere personal survival." Probably the controversy would rage around that weasel word "mere."

An excellent bibliography and index increases the usability of this valuable work.

ARTHUR J. TODD

*Northwestern University*

*We Call It Human Nature.* By PAUL GRABBE. New York: Harper & Bros. 1939. Pp. 120. \$2.50.

*Life: A Psychological Survey.* By SIDNEY L. PRESSEY, J. ELLIOTT JANNEY, and RAYMOND G. KUHLEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. xxxiii + 654. \$3.25.

*Laboratory Workbook in Psychology.* By J. ELLIOTT JANNEY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. 154. \$0.90. (Includes *Instructor's Manual*. Pp. iv + 32.)

*Fields of Psychology.* Ed. by J. P. Guilford. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1940. Pp. x + 695. \$3.50.

*Current Psychologies.* By ALBERT J. LEVINE. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1940. Pp. 270. \$2.75.

With the advent of the news-picture magazine and the successful introduction by Vaughan and by Ruch of numerous cartoons and photographs into the textbook of elementary psychology, it was only a question of time

until someone constructed a picture text in psychology. This, Paul Grabbe, aided on the contextual side by Gardner Murphy, has done. He had previously issued texts of similar style for the fields of harmony and foreign languages.

Grabbe, to the reviewer's mind, has written an extremely interesting book for the layman. But one can only wonder whether or not the book will catch the eye of and enlighten those adults who hunger after psychological knowledge but want to obtain it with less reading than would be needed to work through even such a semipopular text as Floyd Ruch's *Psychology and Life*.

It is a foregone conclusion that any book written by Sidney Pressey will be practical, and this venture into the field of elementary psychology is no exception. The book begins, not with the old style traditional chapters on neurology and sensory physiology or even with the now almost traditional sections on intelligence and personality, but rather with "a sweeping panorama of the socio-economic and cultural environment of modern life—with such historical perspective as might give some sense of the rapidity of recent changes in the customs, conventions, and circumstances of living." Such a unique approach should certainly be encouraged unless the other social scientists feel that it leads to an annexation of their territories. At any rate, Pressey and his co-authors present a workable appearing text.

Janney's *Laboratory Workbook in Psychology*, which is intended to accompany the Pressey text discussed above, strikes the reviewer as being just another workbook. Its connection with the laboratory is even less close than that of cheap chicken soup to chicken. It will supply busy work for idle fingers but will do little else toward the education of the college student.

*Fields of Psychology*, the second of Van Nostrand's "Textbooks on Psychology" under the editorship of J. P. Guilford, should satisfy the needs of many second-semester courses in general psychology. The section authors are specialists in the fields concerning which they have written. This is as it should be, of course, as the psychological discipline is becoming too large for any one person to master many of its specialties. The text, therefore, should supersede, to a degree, those of its rivals written by a single person. This should be especially true as the editorship is good and the point of view quite properly eclectic.

A. J. Levine's *Current Psychologies* introduces a textbook series for the Sci-Art Publishers. Its aims, to inspect the several current psychological isms and to synthesize them, are ambitious. In the reviewer's opinion these tasks are very superficially handled and the volume is not at all on the plane of either the earlier Heidebreder or the Woodworth text. The chapters on "The Freudians" and "The Freudian Dissentients" seem to be the best, although quite possibly the reviewer would not think so if he knew as much about these systems as he does about the others. Behaviorism, functionalism, stimulus-response theories and all else which cannot be classified as psychoanalytic, purposive, or gestaltish are forced under the weird heading of "The Neurological School." Perhaps the book will be sufficiently damned



when it is said that only about twenty-five names of contemporary psychologists appear on its pages.

PAUL R. FARNSWORTH

*Stanford University*

*The Human Enterprise, An Attempt to Relate Philosophy to Daily Life.* By MAX ORTO. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940. Pp. ix+385. \$2.25.

These essays present the personal orientation of a man with capacities for strong social and religious beliefs. His orientation might be called liberal: it is permeated by an ideal of genial tolerance, it is very optimistic, and it is anchored morally. Its intellectual substance is a loose interpretation of Dewey: values classically conceived as cosmic are installed on a human foundation; if "philosophy" will only ally itself with forces working for the new and potentially better in man, it can help shape the contour of history.

With the aid of the categories "Experience" and "Reality," the author is able to accept the natural world and the existence of human ideals. He entitles this accomplishment "Realistic Idealism." On religious points, he has been influenced by Dewey's *A Common Faith*; the virtue of a generous naturalism is here, along with the defects of inadequate analysis.

Since the book is avowedly a non-technical endeavor, many will no doubt overlook several errors and some misinformation on points of intellectual history.

Reading the book, one gets the impression of something vague and hoped for in the first portions of the twentieth century—and not realized. It is a tract of the times, a little dated, and American.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

*University of Wisconsin*

*La formation de l'esprit scientifique.* By GASTON BACHELARD. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1938. Pp. xi+256. 40 frs.

Bachelard has given his latest work the somewhat esoteric subtitle: "contribution to a psychoanalysis of objective knowledge." It would be more aptly described as an analysis of the innate psychological obstacles to valid scientific thinking. The reader will perceive that the ground covered is much the same as that treated by Pareto in his work on non-logico-experimental theories. However, the difference in the manner of treatment could hardly be greater. Pareto made a simple mechanical division of all theories into logico-experimental and non-logico-experimental, and was unable to explain the latter except as resulting from the intervention of the sentiments, or from sheer stupidity. It is Bachelard's thesis, however, that there are a number of psychological tendencies *strictly within the field of cognition* which operate to impede the continuing progress of the mind in its search for scientific truth. Between common sense and science there is a vast gap, and scientific truth is achieved not directly but by means of the correction of initial error.

This thesis is solidly documented with a very considerable number of

examples drawn from the history of early physical and chemical experiment and thought. Among the chief types of "epistemological obstacles" studied by Bachelard we may mention the following: confused sense impressions in the initial observation, the desire for unity and simplicity, the tendency to premature generalization, the process of reification, animistic and teleological explanations, the preoccupation with verbal connections and metaphors, and the pursuit of premature and meaningless exactitude in quantitative statements. If we might use the terminology of Lévy-Bruhl (and signs of his influence are not lacking), Bachelard has been exploring the transitional phase between the logical and the pre-logical mentality.

The reviewer would care to raise only one criticism. Bachelard admits that the scientific fact is peculiarly social, and that society has the chief role in propagating the scientific attitude once it has been formed. But he clings to an individualistic and purely psychologistic interpretation of scientific error. The epistemological obstacles are conceived as innate weaknesses of the individual mind. Perhaps a more thorough acquaintance with the achievements of the sociology of knowledge might have given him a better insight into the social conditions of those mental limitations which he has so acutely described.

ÉMILE BENOÎT-SMULLYAN

*Wells College*

*Poverty and Population.* By RICHARD M. TITMUSS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xxii+320. \$3.50.

With a declining birth rate and virtually no immigration, the growth of Great Britain's population has come almost to a halt, and a rapid decline appears imminent. Due to the downward birth rate, the proportion of children in the population declines and the proportion of aged persons increases. In 1931 there were twice as many children under 15 as there were persons over 60, but by 1950 those over 60 are expected to exceed those under 15. With due allowance for continued medical progress, the downward trend of the death rate in recent decades must soon be reversed because of the aging population.

On the basis of estimates by Dr. Enid Charles, the author indicates that the descendants of the present population of Great Britain 100 years hence will number approximately 4,500,000, or less than half the present population of London. In this connection it may be said that extrapolation applied over so long a period is risky; but the situation confronting Great Britain is serious enough no matter how conservatively it is viewed. The outlook becomes darker when it is noted that Titmuss made no attempt to allow for the impact of British participation in a war.

The "fundamental purpose" of the book is "to attempt to discover whether everything that is humanly possible is being done to safeguard the present population, especially the younger generation, from premature death. . . . Our first care should obviously be for the children already born." The author's technique in dealing with this question involves an

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analysis of regional as against national health—vital statistics of one area in the country are measured against those of other areas and the country as a whole. The data, as would be expected, bear out the close association of high death and sickness rates with poverty, which almost inevitably means malnutrition. In Wales and in the north of England—the regions in which poverty is greatest—maternal mortality, infant mortality, death rates of children and of all other age groups are higher than in the country as a whole. This is especially serious inasmuch as these depressed areas are precisely the areas of high fertility in the production of children. The conclusion is that over 50,000 men, women, and children die prematurely and unnecessarily in Wales and northern England each year, and that it is most imperative that this social waste be stopped.

LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

*State Department of Social Welfare*  
*Albany, New York*

*Social Case Work in Practice; Six Case Studies.* By FLORENCE HOLLIS.  
New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1939. Pp. x+313.  
\$2.50.

Helping people without hurting them is one description of social case work aims; or, more professionally stated, assisting "families and individuals in developing both the capacity and the opportunity to lead personally satisfying and socially useful lives" (p. 5). Miss Hollis has edited six case records from the Cleveland Associated Charities, chosen as examples of successful practice in situations neither too simple nor involving psychiatric treatment, with running comment on methods and results. The introductory chapter presents some assumptions on which case work is founded: the principle of self-determination for the client, plus the worker's warmth and liking for the individual seeking help, termed "acceptance"; the worker's knowledge of herself, ability to understand the client's behavior, and knowledge of methods of helping. (Reality conquers traditional rhetoric: the feminine pronoun is used throughout.) An undogmatic presentation of generic case work is offered, with the suggestion that various schools of case work theory may benefit from discussion in the light of their special ideologies.

The cases are followed by a chapter on the principles underlying the treatment described, under the headings of causation (of behavior), understanding, and treatment. There is a sort of common-sense acceptance of the core of psychiatric knowledge of behavior, without pushing to the extremes of any one psychiatric theory, illuminated by details of the case worker's everyday job. A selected bibliography is given, but no index.

Sponsorship by the Family Welfare Association of America and the professional standing of the author, who is a case worker as well as a teacher of case work in the Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences, guarantee authenticity in the picture of case work set forth. The book is in-

tended for professional classes and also for the non-initiate reader who wants to know what case work is and what the mysterious "techniques and skills" of the art may be.

There is meat for the sociologist in the discussion of the individual in relation to his social environment. The treatment of the concept of a norm (pp. 290 ff.) is stimulating, stressing as it does the factors of the individual's unique social environment and his conception of his role, and the idea of a relativity in behavior norms. There is more recognition of the importance of culture than in some case work and psychiatric writings.

In short, the sociologist can study this volume with profit. Incidentally, these carefully edited records of a recognized agency remain tools for helping people out of trouble, and indicate that we have not realized the dream of a day when such records will lend themselves readily to statistical research.

DAVID K. BRUNER

*Northwestern University*

*War and the Family.* By WILLARD WALLER. New York: The Dryden Press, 1940. Pp. 45. Free to purchasers of Waller's *The Family*; otherwise, \$0.50.

This addendum to Waller's stimulating and widely read book shows how war affects the family in our culture. The interactions of the family and other community structures are shown; the breakdown of family mores, the loosening of conventional sex taboo controls, the effects on birth rate, sex ratio, marriage stability, the general societal dislocation and postwar chaos, are both shown and suggested. A long excerpt from a life history shows dramatically how these factors operated in one woman's life. A good selected bibliography is appended. Students of the family should not miss this excellent little monograph.

*International Vital Statistics.* Washington, D. C.: Bur. of Census, May 2, 1940. Pp. 345-461. Free on request.

This publication contains basic demographic data for over 50 countries from 1920 to 1936 (some tables go back to 1911). A rich fund of information is presented tabularly and graphically with some descriptive and statistical analysis. The book is lithoprinted, but easy to read—and very interesting.

*Race, Language and Culture.* By FRANZ BOAS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xx+647. \$5.00.

Some scientists go through differing periods of development each of which contrasts markedly with the others. Sometimes the contrasts are so extreme, as in the case of G. Elliot Smith and W. H. R. Rivers, that one is compelled to throw away large portions of their work if other portions are accepted. On the other hand, there are scientists who seem to spring full-fledged from the brow of Jove, and whose writings demonstrate remarkable continuity.



A scientist of this latter type is Franz Boas. Of his reputation nothing need be said here; why gild the lily? The volume under review is a collection of his most significant papers from 1887 onward, and in all of them the same vigorous, critical mind is at work. In spite of changes in emphasis brought by new data, there is nothing in this collection of which the most ardent disciple of Boas need be ashamed, and much from which even the most up-to-date ethnologist can profit.

We owe a great debt to Boas and to his helper and counselor Alexander Lesser for making available these significant articles and reviews. Many of them have been hitherto buried in obscure journals, and there is every warrant for bringing them together in this readily accessible form. Any first-rate reference library will at once place this book on its shelves.

*Machiavelli*. By HANS E. KINCK. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1938. Pp. 240. 9 Swiss frs.

Machiavelli has long been a fascinating figure, and at no time more than the present. The Norwegian belletrist H. E. Kinck has presented a study that has all the merits *and* defects of historical analyses carried out by literary men. The character of Machiavelli is vividly realized, but there is too much uncontrolled "insight." Obviously no one can adequately deal with a unique personality, or even with a personality type, unless he has the "insight" capacity so much decried by Lundberg and his campfollowers, but it is also true that "insights" must be verified or refuted in "public" terms. This Kinck fails to do. Hence in spite of the fascinating presentation, the numerous rare illustrations he provides, and the excellent format of his book, the verdict is "Not for purchase by the professional sociologist."

*The Philosophy of Physical Science* (Turner Lectures, 1938). By SIR ARTHUR EDDINGTON. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. ix+230. \$2.50.

This is the attempt of a physicist to aid the quest for knowledge by understanding the character of knowledge already acquired. The position is that epistemology is intimately associated with advances in theoretical physics, that physical knowledge asserts the results of specified observational procedures, that the job of the epistemologist is to observe "good" scientific observers and their planned operations. Despite certain episodes in which the Church of England is evidenced, working sociologists will be informed and interested by Eddington's able and live remarks.

*Taboo*. By A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWNE. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 47. \$0.90.

*Taboo* is a re-expression of Radcliffe-Browne's view that taboo, as a negative rite, is not based on a desire to have a technical means of avoiding danger in a critical situation, which is in part the standard theory. Rather, it is a "symbolic idiom" by which, in the face of such a situation, the individual may show, ritually, his appreciation of fundamental social "values," and by which these values maintain themselves.

*The Peyote Cult.* By WESTON LA BARRE. Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 19. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. Pp. 188, 2 plates. \$2.50.

This is an excellent résumé of the peyote phenomenon, including its physiological and psychological effects and probable ethnographic origins. Devoted mainly to the cult and its variations in the Plains Indians, the study maps its very recent spread in the area, showing how the original Mexican form was modified to a typical Plains pattern. Christian elements in quantity have been embroidered onto it, and churches have even been incorporated, but such elements are purely superficial; the way of doing things is Plains.

*Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border.* By ROBERT V. EKVALL. The University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Occasional Papers No. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+87. \$1.50.

This book is a clear ethnographic presentation of the types of contact between four distinct peoples in this area. The Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, similar in culture, are antagonistic in religion, and there is conflict and a continuing tendency to segregate. The Chinese culture tends to absorb the simpler sedentary Tibetans, who cling only to their Buddhism. The Moslems and the nomadic Tibetans, though separated, have trade affinities and affect each other strongly through this narrow channel. The sedentary and nomadic Tibetans agree in the view that settled peoples are superior in culture, and the nomads tend to be subordinate.

*The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California.* By PEVERIL MEIGS. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. 114. \$1.50.

Brief periods of field work in 1928, 1929, and 1936 permitted the author to gather this ethnological material from the little known, and now almost extinct (36 survivors) tribe of Lower California. The treatment of materials follows the standard monographic form, and should be particularly valuable for comparison with studies made of United States Yuman tribes.

*Community Resources Book, St. Louis and St. Louis County, 1940-1941.* A Handbook of Directory and Statistical Information About the People, the Facilities and Organized Welfare Activities of the City as a Whole, the County as a Whole, City Districts and County Municipalities. by IRVING WEISSMAN, Director. St. Louis: Social Planning Council Research Department, 1940. Pp. cxx+358. \$1.10.

This handbook gives the names and locations of all the social agencies in the city and county, somewhere around 1500 (estimated, though doubtless there are many cross references in the index), with a personnel index of 1600 or 1700 names, with all of the agencies clarified in a service index under the general headings of field welfare, community welfare, corrective and

protective work, family welfare, group, and health work. A brief descriptive paragraph is given for each agency. There are also 17 statistical tables descriptive of the twenty-sixth census districts in St. Louis, giving land use, dwelling places, population distribution as to age, race, sex, vital rates, etc., recreation, dependencies, and personality maladjustments and delinquency. There are also 13 similar tables descriptive of the population of the cities over 2500 in St. Louis County. This provides an indispensable handbook for all social workers in this area, and might contain a good deal of raw material or starting point for collecting such for people interested in social research in this field.

*Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism.* By MAX EASTMAN. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940. Pp. 284. \$2.50.

This is a stirring book. Eastman has said essentially the same things before, but never in such striking form and with such incisive brevity. All the washed-out liberals and Popular Fronters who have been trailing along in a potential fifth column would do well to confront the fact, so crystal clear in Eastman's pages, that there is no possibility of reconciling allegiance to Soviet Russia with anything that an heir of the Western tradition could call elementary moral integrity.

*Abstracts of Graduate Theses in Education. Vol. III.* Ed. by CARTER V. GOOD, L. A. PECHSTEIN, and GORDON HENDRICKSON. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Teachers College, 1940. Pp. xv+251.

The book contains abstracts of twelve doctoral dissertations in education, 1937-1939. Three of them, *The Measurement of Social Maturity in Children*, by Merton D. Munn, *The Relationship of Emotional and Personality Traits to Learning in Children*, by Rose Zeligs, and *The Effect of Practice on Individual Differences under Varying Conditions of Motivation*, by Zed H. Burns, will be of interest to sociologists and social psychologists.

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